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BY HENRY JAMES.

III.

If the interest then was large, this particular interest of the "social" side of the general scene, more and more likely to emerge, what better proof could I want again than the differences of angle at which it continued to present itself? The differences of angle—as obvious most immediately, for instance, "north of the mountains," and first of all in the valley of the Saco—gathered into their train a hundred happy variations. I kept tight hold of my temporary clue, the plea of the country's amiability, as I have called it, its insinuating appeal from too rigorous a doom; but there was a certain strain in this, from day to day, and relief was apparent as soon as the conditions changed. They changed, notably, by the rapid and complete drop of the sordid element from the picture; it was, for all the world, of a sudden, as if Appearance, precious principle, had again asserted its rights. That confidence, clearly, at North Conway, had come to it in the course of the long years, too many to reckon over, that separated my late from my early vision—though I recognized as disconcerting, toward the close of the autumn day, to have to owe this perception, in part, to the great straddling, bellowing railway, the high,

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heavy, dominant American train that so reverses the relation of the parties concerned, suggesting somehow that the country exists for the "cars," which overhang it like a conquering army, and not the cars for the country. This presence had learned to penetrate the high valleys and had altered, unmistakably, the old felicity of proportion. The old, informal earthy coach-road was a firm highway, wide and white—and ground to dust, for all its firmness, by the whirling motor; without which I might have followed it, back and back a little, into the near, into the far, country of youth —left lying, however, as the case stood, beyond the crest of a hill. Only the high rock-walls of the Ledges, the striking sign of the spot, were there; gray and perpendicular, with their lodged patches of shrublike forest growth, and the immense floor, below them, where the Saco spreads and turns and the elms of the great general meadow stand about like candelabra (with their arms reversed) interspaced on a green table. There hung over these things the insistent hush of a September Sunday morning; nowhere greater than in the tended woods enclosing the admirable country home that I was able to enjoy as a centre for contemplation; woods with their dignity maintained by large and artful clearance of undergrowth, and repaying this attention, as always, by something of the semblance of a sacred grove, a place prepared for high uses, even if for none rarer than high talk. There was a latent poetry—old echoes, ever so faint, that *would* come back; it made a general meaning, lighted the way to the great modern farm, all so contemporary and exemplary, so replete with beauty of beasts and convenience of man, with a positive dilettantism of care, but making one perhaps regret a little the big, dusky, heterogeneous barns, the more Bohemian bucolics, of the earlier time. I went down into the valley—that was an impression to woo by stages; I walked beside one of those great fields of standing Indian corn which make, to the eye, so perfect a note for the rest of the American rural picture, throwing the conditions back as far as our past permits, rather than forward, as so many other things do, into the age to come. The maker of these reflections betook himself at last, in any case, to an expanse of rock by a large bend of the Saco, and lingered there under the infinite charm of the place. The rich, full lapse of the river, the perfect brownness, clear and deep, as of liquid agate, in its wide swirl, the large indifferent ease in its pace and motion, as of some great benevolent institu-

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tion smoothly working; all this, with the sense of the deepening autumn about, gave I scarce know what pastoral nobleness to the scene, something raising it out of the reach of even the most restless of analysts. The analyst, in fact, could scarce be restless here; the impression, so strong and so final, persuaded him perfectly to peace. This, on September Sunday mornings, was what American beauty *should* be; it filled to the brim its idea and its measure—albeit Mount Washington, hazily overhung, happened not to contribute to the effect. It was the great, gay river, singing as it went, like some reckless adventurer, good-humored for the hour and with his hands in his pockets, that argued the whole case and carried everything assentingly before it.

Who, for that matter, shall speak, who shall begin to speak, of the alacrity with which, in the New England scene (to confine ourselves for the moment only to that), the eye and the fancy take to the water?—take to it often for relief and security, the corrective it supplies to the danger of the common. The case is rare when it is not better than the other elements of the picture, even if these be at their best; and its strength is in the fact that the common has, for the most part, to stop short at its brink; no water being intrinsically less distinguished—save when it is dirty—than any other. By a fortunate circumstance, moreover, are not the objects usually afloat on American lakes and rivers, to say nothing of bays and sounds, almost always white and wonderful, high-piled, characteristic, fantastic things, begotten of the native conditions and shining in the native light? Let my question, however, not embroider too extravagantly my mere sense of driving presently, though after nightfall, and in the public conveyance, into a village that gave out, through the dusk, something of the sense of a flourishing Swiss village of the tourist season, as one recalls old Alpine associations: the swing of the coach, the cold, high air, the scattered hotels and their lighted windows, the loitering people who might be celebrated climbers or celebrated guides, the resonance of the bridge as one crossed, the gleam of the swift river under the lamps. My village had no happy name; it was, crudely speaking, but Jackson, N. H., just as the swift river that, later on, in the morning light, to the immediate vision, easily surpassed everything else, was only the river of the Wildcat—a superiority strictly comparative. The note of this superiority was in any case already there, for the first,

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for the nocturnal impression; scarce seen, only heard as yet, it could still give the gloom a larger lift than any derived from a tour of the piazzas of the hotels. This tour, undertaken while supper was preparing, in the interest of a study of manners, left room, all the same, for much support to the conviction I just expressed, the conviction that, name for name, the stream had got off better than the village, that streams *couldn't,* at the worst, have such cruel names as villages, and that this too, after all, was an intimation of their relative value. This inference was, for the actual case, to be highly confirmed; the Wildcat River, on the autumn morning, in its deep valley and its precipitous bed, was as headlong and romantic as one could desire; though, indeed, I am not, in frankness, prepared to say better things of it than of the great picture, the feature of the place, to a view of which I mounted an hour or two after breakfast.

Here, at least, where a small and charming country-house had seated itself very much as the best box, on the most expensive tier, rakes the prospect for grand opera—here might manners too be happily studied, save perhaps for their being enjoyed at too short range. Here, verily, were verandahs of contemplation, but admitting to such images of furnished peace, within, as could but illustrate a rare personal history. This was a felicity apart; whereas down in the valley, the night before, the story told at the lighted windows of the inns was precisely, was above all, of advantages impartially diffused and shared. That, at any rate, would seem in each instance the most direct message of the life displayed to the observer, on the fresher evenings, in the halls and parlors, the large, clean, bare spaces (almost penally clean and bare), where plain, respectable families seemed to sit and study in silence, with a kind of awe indeed, as from a sense of inevitable doom, their reflected resemblances, from group to group, their baffling identities of type and tone, their inability to escape from participations and communities. My figure of the opera-box, for the other, the removed, case is justified meanwhile by the memory of the happy vision that was to make up to me for having missed Mount Washington at Intervale; the something splendidly scenic in the composition of the "Presidential range," hung in the air, across the valley, with its most eminent object holding exactly the middle of the stage and the grand effect stretching without a break to either wing. Mount Washington, seen from such a point

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of vantage, a kind of noble equality of intercourse, looks admirably, solidly *seated,* as with the other Presidential peaks standing at his chair; and the picture is especially sublime far off to the right, with the grand style of Carter's Dome, a masterly piece of drawing against the sky, and the romantic dip of Carter's Notch, the very ideal of the pass (other than Alpine) that announces itself to the winding wayfarer, for beauty and interest, from a distance. The names, "Presidential" and other, minister little to the poetry of association; but that, throughout the American scene, is a source of irritation with which the restless analyst has had, from far back, to count. Charming places, charming objects, languish, all round him, under designations that seem to leave on them the smudge of a great vulgar thumb—which is precisely a part of what the pleading land appears to hint to you when it murmurs, in autumn, its intelligent refrain. If it feels itself better than so many of the phases of its fate, so there are spots where you see it turn up at you, under some familiar tasteless infliction of this order, the plaintive eye of a creature wounded with a poisoned arrow.

You learn, after a little, not to insist on names—that is, not to inquire of them; and are happiest perchance when the answer is made you as it was made me by a neighbor, in a railway train, on the occasion of my greatly admiring, right and left of us, a tortuous brawling river. I had supposed it for a moment, in my innocence, the Connecticut—which it decidedly was not; it was only, as appeared, a stream *quelconque,* a stream without an identity. That was better, somehow, than the adventure of a little later—my learning, too definitely, that another stream, ample, admirable, in every way distinguished, a stream worthy of Ruysdael or Salvator Rosa, was known but as the Farmington River. This I could in no manner put up with—this taking by the greater of the comparatively common little names of the less. Farmington, as I was presently to learn, is a delightful, a model village; but villages, fords, bridges are not the godparents of the element that makes them possible, they are much rather the godchildren. So far as such reflections might be idle, however, in an order so differently determined, they easily lost themselves, on the morrow of Jackson, N. H., in an impression of sharper intensity; that of a drive away, on the top of the coach, in the wondrous, lustrous early morning and in company that positively gave what

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it had to give quite as if it had had my curiosity on its conscience. That curiosity held its breath, in truth, for fear of breaking the spell—the spell of the large liberty with which a pair of summer-girls and a summer-youth, from the hotel, took all nature and all society (so far as society was present on the top of the coach) into the confidence of their personal relation. Their personal relation—that of the young man was with the two summer-girls, whose own was all with *him;* any other, with their mother, for instance, who sat speechless and serene beside me, with the other passengers, with the coachman, the guard, the quick-eared four-in-hand, being for the time completely suspended. The freedoms of the young three—who were, by the way, not in their earliest bloom either—were thus bandied in the void of the gorgeous valley without even a consciousness of its shriller, its recording echoes. The whole phenomenon was documentary; it started, for the restless analyst, innumerable questions, amid which he felt himself sink beyond his depth. The immodesty was too colossal to be anything but innocence—yet the innocence, on the other hand, was too colossal to be anything but inane. And they were alive, the slightly stale three: they talked, they laughed, they sang, they shrieked, they romped, they scaled the pinnacle of publicity and perched on it flapping their wings; whereby they were shown in possession of many of the movements of life. Life, however, involved in some degree experience—if only the experience, for instance, of the summer apparently just spent, at a great cost, in the gorgeous valley. How was *that,* how was the perception of any concurrent presence, how was the human or social function at all, compatible with the *degree* of the inanity? There was, as against this, the possibility that the inanity was feigned, if not the immodesty; and the fact that there would have been more immodesty in feigning it than in letting it flow clear. These were maddening mystifications, and the puzzle fortunately dropped with the arrival of the coach at the station.

IV.

Clearly, none the less, there were puzzles and puzzles, and I had almost immediately the amusement of waking up to another—this one of a different order altogether. The point was that if the bewilderments I have just mentioned had dropped, most other things had dropped too: the challenge to curiosity here was in the

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extreme simplification of the picture, a simplification on original lines. Not that there was not still much to think of—if only because one had to stare at the very wonder of a picture so simplified. The thing now was to catch this note, to keep it in the ear and see, really, how far and how long it would sound. The simplification, for that immediate vision, was to a broad band of deep and clear blue sea, a blue of the deepest and clearest conceivable, limited in one quarter by its far and sharp horizon of sky, and in the other by its near and sharp horizon of yellow sand overfringed with a low woody shore: the whole seen through the contorted crosspieces of stunted, wind-twisted, far-spreading, quite fantastic old pines and cedars, whose bunched bristles, at the ends of long limbs, produced, against the light, the most vivid of all reminders. Cape Cod, on this showing, was exactly a pendant, pictured Japanese screen or banner; a delightful little triumph of "impressionism," which, during my short visit at least, never departed, under any provocation, from its type. Its type, so easily formulated, so completely filled, was there the last thing at night and the first thing in the morning; there was rest for the mind—for that, certainly, of the restless analyst—in having it so exactly under one's hand. After that one could read into it other meanings without straining or disturbing it. There was a couchant promontory in particular, half bosky with the evergreen boskage of the elegant kakemono, half bare with the bareness of refined, the *most* refined, New England decoration—a low, hospitable headland projected, as by some water-colorist master of the trick, into a mere brave wash of cobalt. It interfered, the sweet promontory, with its generous Boston bungalow, its verandahs still haunted with old summer-times, and so wide that the present could elbow and yet not jostle the past—it interfered no whit, for all its purity of style, with the human, the social question always dogging the steps of the ancient contemplative person and making him, before each scene, wish really to get *into* the picture, to cross, as it were, the threshold of the frame. It never lifts, verily, this obsession of the story-seeker, however often it may flutter its wings, it may bruise its breast, against surfaces either too hard or too blank. "The *manners*, the manners: where and what are they, and what have they to tell?"—that haunting curiosity, essential to the honor of his office, yet making it much of a burden, fairly buzzes about his head the more

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pressingly in proportion as the social mystery, the lurking human secret, seems more shy.

Then it is that, as he says to himself, the secret must be most queer—and it might, therefore, well have had, so insidiously sounded, a supreme queerness on Cape Cod. For not the faintest echo of it trembled out of the blankness; there were always the little white houses of the village, there were always the elegant elms, feebler and more feathery here than further inland; but the life of the little community was practically locked up as tight as if it had *all* been a question of painted Japanese silk. And that was doubtless, for the story-seeker, absolutely the little story: the constituted blankness was the whole business, and one's opportunity was all, thereby, for a study of exquisite emptiness. This was stuff, in its own way, of a beautiful quality; that impression came to me with a special sweetness that I have not forgotten. The help in the matter was that I had not forgotten, either, a small pilgrimage or two of far-away earlier years—the sense as of absent things in other summer-times, golden afternoons that referred themselves for their character simply to sandy roads and primitive "farms," crooked inlets of mild sea, and, at the richest, large possibilities of worked cranberry-swamp. I remembered, in fine, Mattapoisett, I remembered Marion, as admirable examples of that frequent New England phenomenon, the case the consummate example of which I was soon again to recognize in Newport—the presence of an *unreasoned* appeal, in nature, to the sense of beauty, the appeal on a basis of items that failed somehow, count and recount them as one would, to justify the effect, to make up the precious sum. The sum, at Newport above all, as I was soon again to see, is the exquisite, the irresistible; but you falter before beginning to name the parts of the explanation, conscious how short the list may appear. Thus everything, in the whole range of imagery, affirms itself and interposes; you will, you inwardly determine, arrive at some notation of manners even if you perish in the attempt. Thus, as I jogged southward, from Boston, in a train that stopped and stopped again, for my fuller enlightenment, and that insisted, the good old promiscuous American car itself, on having as much of its native character as possible for my benefit, I already knew I must fall back on old props of association, some revival of the process of seeing the land grow mild and vague and interchangeably familiar with the sea,

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all under the spell of the reported "gulf-stream," those mystic words that breathe a softness wherever they sound.

It was imperative, here, that they should do what they could for me, and they must have been in full operation when, on my arrival at the small station from which I was to drive across to Cotuit—"across the Cape," as who should say, romantic thought, though I strain a point geographically for the romance—I found initiation awaiting me in the form of minimized horse-and-buggy and minimized man. The man was a little boy in tight knickerbockers, the horse barely an animal at all, a mere ambling spirit in shafts on the scale of a hairpin, the buggy disembodied save for its wheels, the whole thing the barest infraction of the road, of the void: circumstances, altogether, that struck the note, the right, the persistent one—that of my baffled endeavor, while in the neighborhood, to catch life in the fact, and of my then having to recognize it as present *without* facts, or with only the few (the little white houses, the feathery elms, the band of ocean-blue, the stripe of sandy yellow, the tufted pines in angular silhouette, the cranberry-swamps stringed across, for the picking, like the ruled pages of ledgers), that fell, incorruptibly silent, into the picture. We were still far from our goal, that first hour, when I had recognized the full pictorial and other "value" of my little boy and his little accessories; had seen, in the amiable waste that we continued to plough till we struck, almost with a shock, the inconsistency of a long stretch of new "stone" road, that, socially, economically, every contributive scrap of this detail was required. I drained my small companion, by gentle pressure, of such side-lights as he could project, consisting almost wholly, as they did, of a prompt and shrill, an oddly emphasized "Yes *sir!*" to each interrogative attempt to break ground. The summer-people had already departed—with, as it seemed to me, undue precipitation; the very hotel offered, in its many-windowed bulk, the semblance of a mere huge brittle sea-shell that children tired of playing with it have cast again upon the beach; the alignments of white cottages were, once more, as if the children had taken, for a change, to building houses of cards and then had deserted *them*. I remember the sense that something *must* be done for penetration, for discovery; I remember an earnest stroll, undertaken for a view of waterside life, which resulted in the perception of a young man, in a spacious

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but otherwise unpeopled nook, a clear, straightforward young man to converse with, for a grand opportunity, across the water, waist-high in the quiet tide and prodding the sea-bottom for oysters; also in the discovery of an animated centre of industry of which oysters again were the motive: a mute citizen or two packing them in boxes, on the beach, for the Boston market, the hammer of some vague carpentry hard by, and, filling the air more than anything else, the unabashed discourse of three or four school-children at leisure, visibly "prominent" and apparently in charge of the life of the place. I remember not less a longish walk, and a longer drive, into low extensions of woody, piney, pondy land-scape, veined with blue inlets and trimmed, on opportunity, with blond beaches—through all of which I pursued in vain the shy spectre of a revelation. The only revelation seemed really to be that, quite as in New Hampshire, so many people had "left" that the remaining characters, on the sketchy page, were too few to form a word. With this, accordingly, of what, in the bright air, for the charmed visitor, were the softness and sweetness of impression *made?* I had again to take it for a mystery.

V.

This was really, for that matter, but the first phase of a resumed, or rather of a greatly enlarged, acquaintance with the New England village in its most exemplary state: the state of being both sunned and shaded; of exhibiting more fresh white paint than can be found elsewhere in equal areas, and yet of correcting that conscious, that doubtless often somewhat embarrassed, hardness of countenance with an art of its own. The descriptive term is of the simplest, the term that suffices for the whole family when at its best: having spoken of them as "elm-shaded," you have said so much about them that little else remains. It is but a question, throughout, of the quantity, the density, of their shade; often so thick and ample, from May to November, that their function, in the social, in the economic, order would seem on occasion to consist solely of their being passive to that effect. To note the latter, accordingly, to praise it, to respond to its appeal for admiration, practically represents, as you pass beneath the great feathery arches, the only comment that may be addressed to the scene. The charming thing—if that be the best way to take it—is that the scene is everywhere the

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same; whereby tribute is always ready and easy, and you are spared all shocks of surprise and saved any extravagance of discrimination. These communities stray so little from the type, that you often ask yourself by what sign or difference you know one from the other. The goodly elms, on either side of the large straight "street," rise from their grassy margin in double, ever and anon in triple, file; the white paint, on wooden walls, amid open dooryards, reaffirms itself eternally behind them—though hanging back, during the best of the season, with a sun-checkered, "amusing" vagueness; while the great verdurous vista, the high canopy of meeting branches, has the air of consciously playing the trick and carrying off the picture. "See with how little we do it; count over the elements and judge how few they are: in other words come back in winter, in the months of the naked glare, when the white paint looks dead and dingy against the snow, the poor, dear, old white paint—immemorial, ubiquitous, save as venturing into brown or yellow—which is really all we have to build on!" Some such sense as that you may catch from the murmur of the amiable elms—if you are a very restless analyst indeed, that is a very indiscreet listener.

As you wouldn't, however, go back in winter on any account whatever, and least of all for any such dire discovery, the picture hangs undisturbed in your gallery, and you even, with extended study of it, class it among your best mementos of the great autumnal harmony. The truth is that, for six or seven weeks after the mid-September, among the mountains of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the mere *fusion* of earth and air and water, of light and shade and color, the almost shameless tolerance of nature for the poor human experiment, are so happily effective that you lose all reckoning of the items of the sum, that you in short find in your draught, contentedly, a single strong savor. By all of which I don't mean to say that this sweetness of the waning year has not more taste in the presence of certain objects than in the presence of certain others. Objects remarkable enough, objects rich and rare perhaps, objects at any rate curious and interesting, emerge, for genial reference, from the gorgeous blur, and would commit me, should I give them their way, to excesses of specification. So I throw myself back upon the fusion, as I have called it—with the rich light hanging on but half a dozen spots. This renews the vision of the Massachusetts Berkshire—land

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beyond any other, in America, to-day, as one was much reminded, of leisure on the way to legitimation, of the social idyl, of the workable, the expensively workable, American form of country life; and, in especial, of a perfect consistency of surrender to the argument of the verdurous vista. This is practically the last word of such communities as Stockbridge, Pittsfield, Lenox, or of such villages as Salisbury and Farmington, over the Connecticut border. I speak of consistency in spite of the fact that it has, doubtless, here and there, under the planted elms, suffered some injury at the hands of the summer-people; for really, beneath the wide mantle of parti-colored Nature, nothing matters but the accidental liability of the mantle here and there to fall thickest. Thus it is, then, that you do, after a little, differentiate, from place to place, and compare and even prefer; thus it is that you recognize a scale and a range of amplitude—nay, more, wonderful to say, on occasion, an emergence of detail; thus it is, in fine, that, while accepting the just eminence of Stockbridge and Pittsfield, for instance, you treat yourself on behalf of Farmington to something like a luxury of discrimination.

I may perhaps not go the length of asserting that Farmington might brave undismayed the absolute removal of the mantle of charity; since the great elm-gallery there struck me as not less than elsewhere essentially mistress of the scene. Only there were particular felicities there within the general—and anything very particular, in the land at large, always gave the case an appearance of rarity. When the great elm-gallery happens to be garnished with old houses, and the old houses happen to show style and form and proportion, and the hand of time, further, has been so good as to rest on them with all the pressure of protection, and none of that of interference, then it is that the New England village may placidly await any comer. Farmington sits with this confidence on the top of a ridge that presents itself in its fringed length—a straight avenue seen in profile—to the visitor taking his way from the station across a couple of miles of level bottom that speak, for New England, of a luxury of culture; and nothing could be more fastidious and exceptional, and thereby more impressive in advance, than such upliftedness of posture. What is it but the note of the aristocratic in an air that so often affects us as drained precisely, and well-nigh to our gasping, of any exception to the common? The indication I here glance at secures

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for the place in advance, as you measure its detachment across the valley, a positively thrilled attention. Then comes, under the canopy of autumn, your vision of the grounds of this mild haughtiness, every one of which you gratefully allow. Stay as many hours as you will—and my stay was but of hours—they don't break down; you trace them into fifty minor titles and dignities, all charming aspects and high refinements of the older New England domestic architecture. Not only, moreover, are the best houses so "good"—the good ones are so surprisingly numerous. That is all they seem together to say. "We are good, yes—we are excellent; though, if we know it very well, we make no vulgar noise about it: we only just stand here, in our long double line, in the manner of mature and just slightly reduced gentlewomen seated against the wall at an evening party (some party where mature gentlewomen unusually abound), and neither too boldly affront the light nor shrink from the favoring shade." That, again, on the spot, is the discreet voice of the air—which quavered away, for me, into still other admissions.

It takes but the barest semitone to start the story-seeker curious of manners—the story-seeker impenitent and uncorrected, as happened in this case, by a lesson unmistakably received, or at least intended, a short time before. He had put a question, on that occasion, with an expectancy doubtless too crude; he had asked a resident of a large city of the middle West what might be, credibly, the conditions of the life "socially" led there. He had not, at Farmington, forgotten the ominous pause that had preceded the reply: "The conditions of the life? Why, the same conditions as everywhere else." He had not forgotten, either, the thrill of his sense of this collapse of his interlocutor: the case being, obviously, that it is of the very nature of conditions, as reported on by the expert—and it was to the expert he had appealed—to vary from place to place, so that they fall into as many groups, and constitute as many stamps, as there are different congregations of men. His interlocutor was not of the expert—*that* had really been the lesson; and it was with a far different poetry, the sweet shyness of veracity, that Farmington confessed to idiosyncrasies. I have too little space, however, as I had then too little time, to pretend to have lifted more than the smallest corner of this particular veil; besides which, if it is of the essence of the land, in these regions, to throw you back, after a little, upon the possible

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humanities, so it often results from the social study, too baffling in many a case, that you are thrown back upon the land. That agreeable, if sometimes bewildering, seesaw is perhaps the best figure, in such conditions, for the restless analyst's tenor of life. It was an effect of the fusion he has endeavored to suggest; it is certainly true, at least, that, among the craggy hills, among little mountains that turned so easily, at any opening, to clearness of violet and blue, among the wood-circled dells that seemed to wait as for afternoon dances, among the horizons that recalled at their will the Umbrian note and the finer drawing, every ugliness melted and dropped, any wonderment at the other face of the medal seemed more trouble than it was worth. It was enough that the white village or the painted farm could gleam from afar, on the faintly purple slope, like a thing of mystery or of history; it was enough that the charming hill-mass, happily presented and foreshortened, should lie there like some beast, almost heraldic, resting his nose on his paws.

Those images, for retrospect, insistently supplant the others; though I have notes enough, I find, about the others too—about the inscrutability of the village street in general, for instance, in any relation but its relation to its elms. What *they* seemed to say is what I have mentioned; but what secrets, meanwhile, did the rest of the scene keep? *Were* there any secrets at all, or had the outward blankness, the quantity of absence, as it were, in the air, its inward equivalent as well? There was the high, thin church, made higher, made highest, and sometimes, as at Farmington, made as pretty as a monstrous Dutch toy, by its steeple of quaint and classic carpentry; but this monument appeared to *testify* scarce more than some large white card, embellished with a stencilled border, on which a message or a sentence, an invitation or a revelation, might be still to be inscribed. The present, the positive, was mainly represented, ever, by the level railway-crossing, gaining expression from its localization of possible death and destruction, where the great stilted, strident, yet so almost comically impersonal train, which, with its so often undesignated and so always unservanted stations, and its general air of "bossing" the neighborhoods it warns, for climax of its characteristic curtness, to "look out" for its rush, is everywhere a large contribution to one's impression of a kind of monotony of acquiescence. This look as of universal acquiescence plays

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somehow through the visible vacancy—seems a part of the thinness, the passivity, of that absence of the settled standard which contains, as I more and more felt, from day to day, the germ of the most final of all my generalizations. I needn't be too prompt with it—so much higher may it hold its head, I foresee, when it flowers, perfectly, as a conclusion, than when it merely struggles through the side of the subject as a tuft for provisional clutching. It sprouts in that soil, none the less, betimes, this apprehension that the "common man" and the common woman have here their appointed paradise and sphere, and that the sign of it is the abeyance, on many a scene, of any wants, any tastes, any habits, any traditions but theirs. The bullying railway orders them off their own decent avenue without a fear that they will "stand up" to it; the tone of the picture is the pitch of their lives, and when you listen to what the village street seems to say, marking it, at the end, with your "Is that *all?*" it is as if you had had your account of a scheme fashioned preponderantly in their image.

I mean in *theirs* exactly, with as little provision for what is too foul for them as for what is too fair: the very middle, the golden mean, of the note of the common, to which the two extremes of condition are equally wanting; though with the mark strongest, if anywhere, against dusky misfortune and precarious dependence. The romance of costume, for better or worse, the implication of vices, accomplishments, manners, accents, attitudes, is as absent for evil as for good, for a low connection as for a high: which is why the simplification covers so much ground, that of public houses, that of kinds of people, that of suggestions, however faint, of discernible opportunity, of any deviation, in other words, into the *un*common. There are no "kinds" of people; there are simply people, very, very few, and all of one kind, the kind who thus simply invest themselves for you in the gray truth that they don't go to the public house. It's a negative garment, but it must serve you; which it makes shift to do while you keep on asking, from the force of acquired habit, what may be behind, what beneath, what within, what may represent, in such conditions, the appeal of the senses or the tribute to them; what, in such a show of life, may take the place (to put it as simply as possible) of amusement, of social and sensual margin, overflow and by-play. Of course there *is* by-play here and there; here and there, of course, extremes *are* touched: otherwise, the whole concretion, in

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its thinness, would crack, and the fact is that two or three of these strong patches of surface-embroidery remain with me as curious and interesting. Never was such by-play as in a great new house on a hilltop that overlooked the most composed of communities; a house apparently conceived—and with great felicity—on the lines of a magnified Mount Vernon, and in which an array of modern "impressionistic" pictures, mainly French, wondrous examples of Manet, of Degas, of Claude Monet, of Whistler, of other rare recent hands, treated us to the momentary effect of a large slippery sweet inserted, without a warning, between the compressed lips of half-conscious inanition. One hadn't quite known one was starved, but the morsel went down by the mere authority of the thing consummately *prepared*. Nothing else had been, in all the circle, prepared to anything like the same extent; and though the consequent taste, as a mixture with the other tastes, was of the queerest, no proof of the sovereign power of art could have been, for the moment, sharper. It happened to be that particular art—it might as well, no doubt, have been another; it made everything else shrivel and fade: it was like the sudden trill of a nightingale, lord of the hushed evening.

These appeared to be, over the land, always possible adventures; obviously I should have others of the same kind; I could let them, in all confidence, accumulate and wait. But, if that was one kind of extreme, what, meanwhile, was the other kind, the kind portentously alluded to by those of the sagacious who had occasionally put it before me that the village street, the arched umbrageous vista, half so candid and half so cool, is too frequently, in respect to "morals," but a whited sepulchre? They had so put it before me, these advisers, but they had as well, absolutely and all tormentingly, so left it: partly as if the facts were too abysmal for a permitted distinctness, and partly, no doubt, as from the general American habit of indirectness, of positive primness, of allusion to those matters that are sometimes collectively spoken of as "the great facts of life." It had been intimated to me that the great facts of life are in high fermentation on the other side of the ground glass that never for a moment flushes, to the casual eye, with the hint of a lurid light: so much, at least, one had no alternative, under pressure, but to infer. The inference, however, still left the question a prey to vagueness—it being obvious that vice requires forms not less than virtue, or perhaps

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even more, and that forms, up and down the prospect, were exactly what one waited in vain for. The theory that no community *can* live wholly without by-play, and the confirmatory word, for the particular case, of more initiated reporters, these things were all very well; but before a scene peeled as bare of palpable pretext as the American sky is often peeled of clouds (in the interest of the slightly acid juice of its light), where and how was the application to be made? It came at last, the application—that, I mean, of the portentous hint; and under it, after a fashion, the elements fell together. Why the picture *shouldn't* bristle with the truth—that was all conceivable; that the truth could only strike inward, horribly inward, not playing up to the surface—this too needed no insistence; what was sharpest for reflection being, meanwhile, a couple of minor appearances, which one gathered as one went. That our little arts of pathetic, of humorous, portrayal may, for all their claim to an edifying "realism," have, on occasion, small veracity and courage—that again was a remark pertinent to the matter. But the strangest link in the chain, and quite the horridest, was this other, of high value to the restless analyst—that, as the "interesting" puts in its note but where it can and where it will, so the village street and the lonely farm and the hillside cabin became positively richer objects under the smutch of imputation; twitched, with a grim effect, the thinness of their mantle, shook out of its folds such crudity and levity as they might, and borrowed, for dignity, a shade of the darkness of Cenci-drama, of monstrous legend, of old Greek tragedy, and thus helped themselves out for the story-seeker more patient almost of anything than of flatness.

There was not flatness, accordingly, though there might be dire dreariness, in some of those impressions gathered, for a climax, in the Berkshire country of Massachusetts, which forced it upon the fancy that here at last, in far, deep mountain valleys, where the winter is fierce and the summer irresponsible, was that heart of New England which makes so pretty a phrase for print and so stern a fact, as yet, for feeling. During the great loops thrown out by the lasso of observation from the wonder-working motor-car that defied the shrinkage of autumn days, this remained, constantly, the best formula of the impression and even of the emotion; it sat in the vehicle with us, but spreading its wings to the magnificence of movement, and gathering under them in-

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deed most of the meanings of the picture. The heart of New England, at this rate, was an ample, a generous, heart, the largest demands on which, as to extent and variety, seemed not to overstrain its capacity. But it was where the mountain-walls rose straight and made the valleys happiest or saddest—one couldn't tell which, as to the felicity of the image, and it didn't much matter—that penetration was, for the poetry of it, deepest; just as generalization, for an opposite sort of beauty, was grandest on those several occasions when we perched for a moment on the summit of a "pass," a real little pass, slowly climbed to and keeping its other side, with an art all but Alpine, for a complete revelation, and hung there over the full vertiginous effect of the long and steep descent, the clinging road, the precipitous fall, the spreading, shimmering land bounded by blue horizons. We liked the very vocabulary, reduced to whatever minimum, of these romanticisms of aspect; again and again the land would do beautifully, if that were all that was wanted, and it deserved, the dear thing, thoroughly, any verbal caress, any tenderness of term, any share in a claim to the grand manner, to which we could responsively treat it. The grand manner was in the winding ascent, the rocky defile, the sudden rest for wonder, and all the splendid reverse of the medal, the world belted afresh as with purple sewn with pearls—melting, in other words, into violet hills with vague white towns on their breasts.

That was, at the worst, for October afternoons, the motor helping, our frequent fare; the habit of confidence in which was, perhaps, on no occasion so rewarded as on that of a particular plunge, from one of the highest places, through an ebbing golden light, into the great Lebanon "bowl," the vast, scooped hollow in one of the hither depths of which (given the quarter of our approach) we found the Shaker settlement once more or less, I believe, known to fame, ever so grimly planted. The grimness, even, was all right, when once we had admiringly dropped down and down and down; it would have done for that of a Buddhist monastery in the Himalayas—though more savagely clean and more economically impersonal, we seemed to make out, than the communities of older faiths are apt to show themselves. I remember the mere chill of contiguity, like the breath of the sepulchre, as we skirted, on the wide, hard floor of the valley, the rows of gaunt windows polished for no whitest, stillest, meanest face, even, to

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look out; so that they resembled the parallelograms of black paint crisscrossed with white lines that represent transparency in Nuremberg dolls'-houses. It wore, the whole settlement, as seen from without, the strangest air of active, operative death; as if the state of extinction were somehow, obscurely, administered and applied—the final hush of passions, desires, dangers, converted into a sort of huge stiff brush for sweeping away rubbish, or still more, perhaps, into a monstrous comb for raking in profit. The whole thing had the oddest appearance of mortification made to "pay." This was really, however, sounding the heart of New England beyond its depth, for I am not sure that the New York boundary had not been, just there, overpassed; there flowered out of that impression, at any rate, another adventure, the very bravest possible for a shortened day, of which the motive, whether formulated or not, had doubtless virtually been to feel, with a far-stretched arm, for the heart of New York. *Had* New York, the miscellaneous monster, a heart at all?—this inquiry, amid so much encouraged and rewarded curiosity might have been well on the way to become sincere, and we kept groping, between a prompt start and an extremely retarded return, for any stray sign of an answer.

The answer, perhaps, in the event, still eluded us, but the pursuit itself, away across State lines, through zones of other manners, through images of other ideals, through densities of other values, into a separate sovereign civilization in short—this, with "a view of the autumnal Hudson" for an added incentive, became, in all the conditions, one of the finer flowers of experience. To be on the lookout for differences was, not unnaturally, to begin to meet them just over the border and see them increase and multiply; was, indeed, with a mild consistency, to feel it steal over us that we were, as we advanced, in a looser, shabbier, perhaps even rowdier world, where the roads were of an easier virtue and the "farms" of a scantier pride, where the absence of the ubiquitous sign-post of New England, joy of lonely corners, left the great spaces with an accent the less; where, in fine, the wayside bravery of the commonwealth of Massachusetts settled itself, for memory, all serenely, to suffer by no comparison whatever. And yet it wasn't, either, that this other was not also a big, bold country, with ridge upon ridge and horizon by horizon to deal with, insistently, pantingly, puffingly, pausingly, before the great river showed signs of taking up the tale with its higher hand;

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it wasn't, above all, that the most striking signs by which the nearness of the river was first announced, three or four fine old houses overlooking the long road, reputedly Dutch manors, seats of patriarchs and patroons, and unmistakably rich "values" in the vast, vague scene, had not a nobler archaic note than even the best of the New England colonial; it wasn't that, finally, the Hudson, when we reached the town that repeats in so minor a key the name of the stream, was not autumnal indeed, with majestic impenetrable mists that veiled the waters almost from sight, showing only the dim Catskills, off in space, as perfunctory graces, cheaply thrown in, and leaving us to roam the length of a large straight street which was, yes, decidedly, for comparison, for curiosity, not as the streets of Massachusetts.

The best here, to speak of, was that the motor underwent repair and that its occupants foraged for dinner—finding it, indeed, excellently at a quiet cook-shop, about the middle of the long-drawn way, after we had encountered coldness at the door of the main hotel by reason of our French poodle. This personage had made our group, admirably composed to our own sense, as it was, only the more illustrious; but minds indifferent to an opportunity of intercourse, if but the intercourse of mere vision, with fine French poodles, may be taken always as suffering where they have sinned. The hospitality of the cook-shop was meanwhile touchingly, winningly unconditioned, yet full of character, of local, of national truth, as we liked to think: documentary, in a high degree—we talked it over—for American life. Wasn't it interesting that with American life so personally, so freely affirmed, the superstition of cookery should yet be so little denied? It was the queer old complexion of the long straight street, however, that most came home to me: Hudson, in the afternoon quiet, seemed to stretch back, with fumbling friendly hand, to the earliest outlook of my consciousness. Many matters had come and gone, innumerable impressions had supervened; yet here, in the stir of the senses, a whole range of small forgotten things revived, things intensely Hudsonian, more than Hudsonian; small echoes and tones and sleeping lights, small sights and sounds and smells that made one, for an hour, *as* small—carried one up the rest of the river, the very river of life indeed, as a thrilled, roundabouted pilgrim, by primitive steamboat, to a mellow, mediæval Albany.

HENRY JAMES.

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WHAT IS LIFE?

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE, PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON RECENT VIEWS IN CHEMISTRY.

In a recent article, Sir William Ramsay wrote on the question, "What is an Element?" and incidentally remarked the fact that the groupings possible to atoms of carbon are exceptionally numerous and complicated, each carbon atom having the power of linking itself with others to an extraordinary extent, so that it is no exceptional thing to find a substance which contains twenty or thirty atoms of carbon, as well as other elements, linked together in its molecule in a perfectly definite way; the molecule being still classifiable as that of a definite chemical compound. But there are also some non-elementary bodies which, although they are chemically complete and satisfied, retain a considerable vestige of power to link their molecules together so as to make a complex and massive compound molecule; and these are able not only to link similar molecules into a more or less indefinite chain, but to unite and include the saturated molecules of many other substances also into the unwieldy aggregate.

Of the non-elementary bodies possessing this property, *water* appears to be one of the chief; for there is evidence to show that the ordinary H_2O molecule of water, although it may be properly spoken of as a saturated or satisfied compound, seldom exists in the simple isolated shape depicted by the above formula, but rather that a great number of such simple molecules attach themselves to each other by what is called their residual or outstanding affinity, and build themselves up into a complex aggregate.

The doctrine of residual affinity has been long advocated by Armstrong; and the present writer has recently shown that it is a necessary consequence of the electrical theory of chemical

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affinity,* and that the structure of the resulting groupings, or compound aggregates, may be partially studied by means of floating magnets, after the manner of Alfred Mayer.†

It may be well here to explain to students that one of the lines of argument which lead to the conclusion that the water molecule, as it ordinarily exists, is really complex and massive, is based upon measurements of the Faraday dielectric constant for water; for this constant, or specific inductive capacity, is found to be very large, something like 50 times that of air or free ether: whereas for glass it is only 5 or 6 times that of free space. The dielectric constant of a substance generally increases with the density or massiveness of its molecule,—indeed, the value of this constant is one of the methods whereby matter displays its interaction with and loading of the free ether of space,—and any such density as the conventional nine times that of hydrogen for the molecule of water would be wholly unable to explain its immense dielectric constant.

The influence of the massiveness of a water molecule is also displayed in its power of knocking asunder or dissociating any salts or other simple chemical substance introduced into it; common salt, for instance, is found always to have a certain percentage of its molecules knocked or torn asunder directly it is dissolved in water, so that, in addition to a number of salt molecules in solution, there are a few positively charged hydrogen atoms and a few negatively charged sodium atoms, existing in a state of loose attraction to the water aggregate, and amenable to the smallest electric force; which, when applied, urges the chlorine one way and the sodium the other way, so that they can be removed at an electrode and their place supplied by freshly dissociated molecules of salt, thus bringing about its permanent electro-chemical decomposition, and enabling the water to behave as an electric conductor directly a little salt or acid is dissolved in it.

The power of the water molecule to associate itself with molecules of other substances is illustrated by the well-known fact that water is an almost universal solvent. It is its residual affinity which enables it to enter into weak chemical combination with a large number of other substances, and thus to dissolve

* See "Nature," Vol. 70, p. 176, June 23, 1904.

† See an article on "Modern Views of Chemical Affinity" by the present writer in a magazine called "Technics" for September, 1904.

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those substances. The dissolving power usually increases when the temperature is raised, possibly because the self-contained or self-sufficient groupings of the water molecules are then to some extent broken up and the fragments enabled to cling on to the foreign or introduced matter instead of only to each other. The foreign substance is apt to be extruded again when the liquid cools and when the affinity of the water aggregates for each other resumes its sway. Very hot water can dissolve not only the substances familiarly known to be soluble in water, but it can dissolve things like glass also, so that glass vessels are unable to retain water kept for a long time under high pressure at a very high temperature, approaching a red heat.

Another material which also seems to have the power of combining with a number of other bodies, under the influence of the loose mode of chemical combination spoken of as residual affinity, is carbon; so that a block of charcoal can absorb hundreds of times its own bulk of certain gases.

Indeed, Sir James Dewar has recently employed this absorbing power of very cold carbon to produce a perfect kind of vacuum, which may, perhaps, be the nearest approach to absolute vacuum that has yet been attained: probably higher than can be attained by any kind of mechanical or mercury pump.

UNEXPECTED INFLUENCE OF SIZE.

Suppose now a substance contains a great number of carbon molecules and a great number of water molecules, each of which has this residual affinity or power of clinging together well developed, what may be expected to be the result? Surely, the formation of a molecule consisting of thousands or hundreds of thousands of atoms, constituting substances more complex even than those already known to or analysable by organic chemistry; and if these complex molecules likewise possess the adhesive faculty, a grouping of millions or even billions of atoms may ultimately be formed. A billion, that is a million millions, of atoms is truly an immense number, but the resulting aggregate is still excessively minute. A portion of substance consisting of a billion atoms is only barely visible with the highest power of a microscope; and a speck or granule, in order to be visible to the naked eye, like a grain of lycopodium-dust, must be a million times bigger still. Such a grouping is likely to have properties

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differing not only in degree but in kind from the properties of simple substances.

For it must not be thought that aggregation only produces quantitative change and leaves quality unaltered. Fresh qualities altogether are liable to be introduced or to make their appearance at certain stages—certain critical stages—in the building up of a complex mass.

The habitability of a house, for instance, depends on its possessing a cavity of a certain size; there is a critical size of brick-aggregate which enables it to serve as a dwelling. Nothing much smaller than this would do at all. The aggregate retains this property, thus conferred upon it by size, however big it may be made after that; until it becomes a palace or a cathedral, when it may perhaps reach an upper limit of size at which it would be crushed by its own weight, or at which the span of roof is too great to be supported. But the difference, as regards habitability, between a palace and a hovel is far less than that between a hovel and one of the air-holes in a brick or loaf, or any other cavity too small to act as a human habitation. The difference as regards habitability is then an infinite difference.

To take a less trivial instance; a planet which is large enough to retain an atmosphere by its gravitative attraction differs utterly, in potentiality and importance, from the numerous lumps of matter scattered throughout space, which, though they may be as large as a haystack or a mountain or as the British Isles, or even Europe, are yet too small to hold any trace of air to their surface, and therefore cannot in any intelligible sense of the word be regarded as habitable. One of the lumps of matter in space can become a habitable planet only when it has attained a certain size, which conceivably it might do by falling, together with others, into a complex aggregate under the influence of gravitative attraction. The asteroids have not succeeded in doing this, but the planets have; and, accordingly, one of them, at any rate, has become a habitable world.

But observe that the great size and the consequent retention of an atmosphere did not generate the inhabitants; it satisfied one of the conditions necessary for their existence. How they arose is another matter. All that we have seen so far is that an aggregate of bodies may possess properties and powers which the separate bodies themselves possess in no kind or sort of way. It is not a

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question of degree, but of kind. So also, further, if the aggregate is large enough, very much larger than any planet, as large as a million earths aggregated together, it acquires the property of conspicuous radioactivity, it becomes a self-heating and self-luminous body, able to keep the ether violently agitated in all space round it, and thus to supply the radiation necessary for protecting the habitable worlds from the cold of space to which they are exposed, for maintaining them at a temperature appropriate to organic existence, and otherwise for supplying and generating the energy for their myriad activities. It has become in fact a central sun, and source of heat, solely because of its enormous size combined with the fact of the mutual gravitative attraction of its constituent particles. No body of moderate size could perform this function, nor act as a perennial furnace to the rest.

APPLICATION TO PROTOPLASM.

Very well, then, return now to our complex molecular aggregate, and ask what new property, beyond the province of ordinary chemistry and physics, is to be expected of a compound which contains millions or billions of atoms attached to each other in no rigid, stable, frigid manner, but by loose unstable links, enabling them constantly to rearrange themselves and to be the theatre of perpetual change, aggregating and reaggregating in various ways and manifesting ceaseless activities. Such unstable aggregates of matter may, like the water of a pond or a heap of organic refuse, serve as the vehicle for influences wholly novel and unexpected.

Too much agitation—that is, too high a temperature—will split them up and destroy the new-found potentiality of such aggregates; too little agitation—that is, too low a temperature—will permit them to begin to cohere and settle down into frozen rigid masses insusceptible of manifold activities. But take them just at the right temperature, when sufficiently complex and sufficiently mobile; take care of them, so to speak, for the structure may easily be killed; and what shall we find? We could not exactly guess what would be the result, but we can observe the result as it is.

The result is that the complexes group themselves into minute masses visible in the microscope, each mass being called by us a "cell"; that these cells possess the power of uniting with or

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assimilating other cells, or fragments of cells, as they drift by and come into contact with them; and that they absorb into their own substance such portions as may be suitable, while the insufficiently elaborated portions,—the grains of inorganic or oversimple material,—are presently extruded. They thus begin the act of "feeding."

Another remarkable property also can be observed; for a cell which thus grows by feeding need not remain as one individual, but may split into two or into more than two, which may cohere for a time, but will ultimately separate and continue existence on their own account. Thus begins the act of "reproduction."

But a still more remarkable property can be observed in some of the cells, though not in all; they can not only assimilate a fragment of matter which comes into contact with them, but they can sense it, apparently, while not yet in contact, and can protrude portions of their substance or move their whole-bodies towards the fragment; thus beginning the act of "hunting"; and the incipient locomotory power can be extended till light and air and moisture and many other things can be sought and moved towards, until locomotion becomes so free that it sometimes seems apparently objectless—mere restlessness, change for the sake of change, like that of human beings.

The power of locomotion is liable, however, to introduce the cell to new dangers, and to conditions hostile to its continued aggregate existence. So, in addition to the sense of food and other desirable things ahead, it seems to acquire, at any rate when still further aggregated and more developed, a sense of shrinking from and avoidance of the hostile and the dangerous,—a sense as it were of "pain."

And so it enters on its long career of progress, always liable to disintegration or "death"; it begins to differentiate portions of itself for the feeding process, other portions for the reproductive process, other portions again for sensory processes, but retaining the protective sense of pain almost everywhere; until the spots sensitive to ethereal and aërial vibrations — which, arriving as they do from a distance, carry with them so much valuable information, and when duly appreciated render possible perception and prediction as to what is ahead—until these sensitive spots have become developed into the special organs which we now know as the "eye" and the "ear." Then, presently, the power

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of communication is slowly elaborated, speech and education begin, and the knowledge of the individual is no longer limited to his own experience, but expands till it embraces the past history and the condensed acquisition of the race. And now slowly begins a developed self-consciousness, a discrimination between the self and the external world, and a realization of the power of choice and freedom—a stage beyond which we have not travelled as yet, but a stage at which almost all things seem possible.

The first two properties, assimilation and reproduction, overshadowed by the possibility of death, are properties of life of every kind, plant life as of all other; but the power of locomotion and special senses, overshadowed by the sense of pain, are the sign of a still further development into what we call "animal life." The further development of mind, consciousness, and sense of freedom, overshadowed by the possibility of wilful error or sin, is the conspicuous attribute of life which is distinctly human.

Thus, our complex molecular aggregate has shown itself capable of extraordinary and most interesting processes, has proved capable of constituting the material vehicle of life, the natural basis of living organisms, and even of mind; very much as a planet of certain size proved itself capable of possessing an atmosphere.

But is it to be supposed that the complex aggregate generated the life and mind, as the planet generated its atmosphere? That is the so-called materialistic view, but to the writer it seems an erroneous one, and it is certainly one that is not proven. It is not even certain that every planet generated all the gases of its own atmosphere: some of them it may have swept up in its excursion through space. What is certain is that it possesses the power of retaining an atmosphere; it is by no means so certain how all the constituents of that atmosphere arrived.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF LIFE.

All that we have actually experienced and verified is that a complex molecular aggregate is capable of being the vehicle or material basis of life; but to the question *what life is* we have as yet no answer. Many have been the attempts to generate life *de novo*, by packing together suitable materials and keeping them pleasantly warm for a long time; but, if all germs of preexisting

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life are rigorously excluded, the attempt hitherto has been a failure: so far, no life has made its appearance under observation, except from antecedent life.

But, to exclude all trace of antecedent life, it is necessary not only to shut out floating germs, but to kill all germs previously existing in the material we are dealing with. This killing of previous life is usually accomplished by heat, but it has been argued that heat so applied will destroy not only the life, but the potentiality for life, will break up the complex aggregate on which life depends, will deprive the incubating solution not only of life but of livelihood. There is some force in the objection, and it is an illustration of the difficulty surrounding the subject. But Tyndall showed that antecedent life could be destroyed, without any very high temperature, by gentle heat periodically applied: heat insufficient to kill the germs, but sufficient to kill the hatched or developed organisms. Periodic heating enables the germs of successive ages to hatch, so to speak, and the product to be slain; and, although some each time may have reproduced germs before slaughter—eggs capable of standing the warmth—yet a succession of such warmings would ultimately be fatal to all, and that without necessarily breaking up the protoplasmic complex aggregate on the existence of which the whole vital potentiality depends.

So far, however, all effort at spontaneous generation has been a failure; possibly because some essential ingredient or condition was omitted, possibly because great lapse of time was necessary. But suppose it was successful: what then? We should then be reproducing in the laboratory a process that must at some past age have occurred on the earth; for at one time the earth was certainly hot and molten and inorganic, whereas now it swarms with life.

Does that show that the earth generated the life? By no means; no more than it need necessarily have generated all the gases of its atmosphere or the meteoric dust which lies upon its snows.

Life may be something not only ultra-terrestrial, but even immaterial, something outside our present categories of matter and energy; as real as they are, but different, and utilizing them for its own purpose. What is certain is that life possesses the power of vitalizing the complex material aggregates which exist on this

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planet, and of utilizing their energies for a time to display itself amid terrestrial surroundings; and then it seems to disappear or evaporate whence it came. It is perpetually arriving and perpetually disappearing. While it is here, the animated material body moves about and strives after many objects, some worthy, some unworthy; it acquires thereby a certain individuality, a certain character. It realizes *itself*, moreover, becoming conscious of its own mental and spiritual existence; and it begins to explore the Mind which, like its own, it conceives must underlie the material fabric—half displayed, half concealed, by the environment, and intelligible only to a kindred spirit. Thus the scheme of law and order dimly dawns on the nascent soul, and it begins to form clear conceptions of truth, goodness, and beauty; it may achieve something of a permanent value, as a work of art or of literature, it may enter regions of emotion and may evolve ideas of the loftiest kind; it may degrade itself below the beasts, or it may soar till it is almost divine.

Is it the material molecular aggregate that has of its own unaided latent power generated this individuality, acquired this character, felt these emotions, evolved those ideas? There are some who try to think it is. There are others who recognize in this extraordinary development a contact between this material frame of things and a universe higher and other than anything known to our senses; a universe not dominated by Physics and Chemistry, but utilizing the interactions of matter for its own purposes; a universe where the human spirit is more at home than it is among these temporary collocations of atoms; a universe capable of infinite development, of noble contemplation, and of lofty joy, long after this planet—nay, the whole solar system—shall have fulfilled its present spire of destiny and retired cold and lifeless upon its endless way.

OLIVER LODGE.

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THE TERCENTENARY OF "DON QUIXOTE."

BY HAVELOCK ELLIS.

I.

THREE centuries ago there appeared in Madrid a novel entitled "Don Quixote de la Mancha." The book was carelessly printed in poor type on bad paper. It aroused little admiration; most of the great literary men of the age looked down on it contemptuously; it seemed, indeed, to satirize some of the most sacred ideals of serious Spaniards. But however it might be regarded by orthodox literary critics or narrow-minded patriots, the book was at once read throughout Spain. Outside Spain, also, it was very soon not only known and translated, but highly praised, especially in England, where leading men of letters, great philosophers, and eminent physicians proclaimed their admiration. More happy than its hero or its author, the novel had set forth on a career of adventure in which it finally conquered the world.

There can be no doubt about it, "Don Quixote" is the world's greatest and most typical novel. There are other novels which are finer works of art, more exquisite in style, of more perfect architectonic plan. But such books appeal less to the world at large than to the literary critic; they are not equally amusing, equally profound, to the men of all nations and all ages and all degrees of mental capacity. Even if we put aside monuments of literary perfection, like some of the novels of Flaubert, and consider only the great European novels of widest appeal and deepest influence, they still fall short of the standard which this book, their predecessor and often their model, had set. "Tristram Shandy," perhaps the most cosmopolitan of English novels, a book that in humor and wisdom often approaches "Don Quixote," has not the same universality of appeal. "Robinson

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Crusoe," the most typical of English novels, the Odyssey of the Anglo-Saxon on his mission of colonizing the earth—God-fearing, practical, inventive—is equally fascinating to the simplest intellect and the deepest. Yet, wide as its reputation is, it has not the splendid affluence, the universal humanity, of "Don Quixote." "Tom Jones," always a great English novel, can never become a great European novel; while the genius of Scott, which was truly cosmopolitan in its significance and its influence, was not only too literary in its inspirations, but too widely diffused over a wilderness of romances, ever to achieve immortality. "*La Nouvelle Héloïse,*" which once swept across Europe and renewed the novel, was too narrow in its spirit, too temporary in its fashion, to be enduring. "Wilhelm Meister," perhaps the wisest and profoundest of books in novel form, challenges a certain comparison; as the romance of the man who, like Saul the son of Kish, went forth to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom, it narrates an adventure which is in some sense the reverse of Don Quixote's; but in its fictional form it presents, like the books of Rabelais, far too much that is outside the scope of fiction ever to appeal to all tastes. "The Arabian Nights," which alone surpasses "Don Quixote" in variety and universality of interest, is not a novel by one hand but a whole literature. "Don Quixote" remains the one great typical novel. It is a genuine invention; for it combined for the first time the old chivalrous stories of heroic achievement with the new picaresque stories of vulgar adventure, creating in the combination something that was altogether new, an instrument that was capable of touching life at every point. It leads us into an atmosphere in which the ideal and the real are equally at home. It blends together the gravest and the gayest things in the world. It penetrates to the harmony that underlies the violent contrasts of life, the only harmony which in our moments of finest insight we feel to be possible, in the same manner and, indeed, at the same moment,—for "Lear" appeared in the same year as "Don Quixote,"—that Shakespeare brought together the madman and the fool on the heath in a concord of divine humor. It is a story-book that a child may enjoy, a tragicomedy that only the wisest can fully understand. It has inspired many of the masterpieces of literature; it has entered into the lives of the people of every civilized land; it has become a part of our human civilization.

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II.

It was not to be expected that the author of such a book as this, the supreme European novel, an adventure book of universal human interest, should be a typical man of letters, shut up in a study, like Scott or Balzac or Zola. Cervantes was a man of letters by accident. First of all, he was a soldier and an adventurer; it was as such that he impressed his fellow-countrymen, and to this fact we owe much of our knowledge of his life. The records of his life—apart from his incidental notices of himself, and equally apart from his later fame as an author—are detailed, though broken and imperfect. We are even able to frame a definite portrait of the man as he lived,—here, indeed, aided by his own descriptions,—a more definite portrait than we possess of his great contemporary and spiritual kinsman, Shakespeare, though, in this more unfortunate, we have no authentic portrait of Cervantes. We see him, a man of average height, with heavy shoulders, light complexion, bright eyes, chestnut hair, great mustache and golden beard, a little marred by short sight and an impediment of speech, yet the type of the man of sanguine temperament and audacious action.

Born in 1547, probably on Michaelmas Day, in the ancient Castilian town of Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid, Cervantes was the youngest child of parents of hidalgo blood, whose position in the world had fallen. Both parents belonged to Alcalá and its neighborhood, and it is interesting to remember that scarcely more than a hundred miles away had been the home of the parents of the other great Spanish world-figure, Christopher Columbus, who gave to Spain a New World she lost so soon. Cervantes was fortunate, not only in his birth, but in his breeding; his schoolmaster was a man of firm character, as well as of learning and literary ability; he conceived an affection for his pupil, and was probably the means of implanting or arousing those tastes which were afterwards to develop so mightily. As a youth, Cervantes wrote bad verse, which perhaps helped him to secure at the age of twenty-two the friendship and patronage of Cardinal Acquaviva, a man scarcely older than himself, with whom he travelled to Rome. For some of his biographers there is a mystery about this sudden departure from Madrid; a quarrel, it has been more than surmised, an intrigue with a lady of high birth, swords drawn in the precincts of the Court,—a serious

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offence for which the penalty was loss of the right hand. But, whatever the episode, it served to bring Cervantes into the main current of European life. It was, indeed, a fine moment in the history of Europe. The days of chivalry seemed to have come back again. A great Crusade had been preached against the infidel Turk, and under the inspiration of the Pope and the leadership of Don John of Austria the united forces of Rome, Spain and Venice were preparing to put to sea with an armament of unparalleled magnitude. Cervantes, with the hereditary instincts of a soldier and the personal impulse of a poet enamoured of high adventure, shared the enthusiasm. He left the Cardinal's household and enlisted as a common soldier. But the regiment he entered, which admitted only young men of good family, was one of great distinction; it represented the flower of Spanish infantry, held to be invincible, until, a century later, it went down forever at the battle of Rocroi. This wave of Christian chivalry that thus swept Cervantes with it culminated in the famous battle of Lepanto, one of the world's great sea-fights. That day—the 7th of October, 1571—was the finest moment in the life of Cervantes. He was weak and ill of a fever when the battle began, he received three gunshot wounds in the course of it, and his left hand was permanently maimed, yet his share in the glory of that day was ever afterwards a source of pride and joy. Singularly enough, as contemporary evidence amply shows, the part played by this private soldier on board the "Marquesa," one among thirty thousand men, really won him the highest honor. Nothing could better demonstrate the extraordinary personal qualities of the man. When, after some further service in an expedition against Tunis, he obtained leave of absence to revisit Spain, he bore with him on board the galley "El Sol" letters of recommendation to the King from the first generals of the day, containing the highest eulogies of his valor and merit, as well as of his amiable personal qualities. But that irony of life which was always to pursue Cervantes in the real world—aided, as he himself admitted, by peculiarities of personal temperament—and which in old age he was to translate so incomparably into the terms of the ideal world, had begun to pursue him. The "Sol" was captured almost in sight of Spain by Algerine corsairs, and these letters led the captors to form so high an opinion of the importance of their captive that they demanded a ransom out of

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proportion to his position or his family's means. He became the slave of a corsair captain of exceptional brutality, and was carried to Algiers in chains, there to be detained for five years.

In Algiers, as again we learn from much independent evidence, Cervantes displayed, under new and more difficult circumstances, the same extraordinary personal qualities. He was a slave, in chains, the property of a brutal master. Yet he speedily became the leader and inspirer of the Christian captives in Algiers; in devising methods of escape and in boldly seeking to execute them, his courage and fertility of resource were alike inexhaustible. Owing to the treachery of others, rather than to any failure on his own part, his plans always miscarried; but he accepted the responsibility, and he would implicate no one else. It is astonishing that his captors, so far from inflicting punishment upon him, seem to have treated him with an increased degree of consideration. In Islam, human worth is always recognized and esteemed wherever it may appear; that is one of the secrets of its vitality. But the absolute impunity which Cervantes enjoyed at the hands of these reckless and daring Algerians, then at the height of their power, still remains a mystery. At last, by the exertions of a benevolent monk, the amount of the ransom was gathered together from various sources, and Cervantes returned to Spain. But his services were now forgotten; Lepanto had proved a barren victory, and Don John was dead. If Cervantes had chosen to become a renegade Mohammedan, he could, doubtless, have risen to any position he cared to aspire to; in Spain, the spirit of freedom and all personal initiative were being crushed beneath the arrogant hands of the Philips. Spain had no uses for the best and bravest of her sons, and Cervantes saw nothing before him but to do as he had done ten years before, though not, we may be sure, with the same enthusiasm: he once more entered the ranks as a common soldier. This time, again, he chose a highly distinguished regiment, in which, it so chanced, his rival and enemy, Lope de Vega—then a boy of sixteen, but soon to become the acknowledged prince of Spanish letters,—was also at this time serving. Cervantes was now, however, growing tired of the hard, ill-paid and brutal life of camps; a chivalrous enthusiasm, not the love of warfare, had led him to become a soldier; and, after fighting under Alva a victorious campaign against Portugal, he threw aside the pike for the pen.

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It was a memorable epoch in his life. It seems to have been in Portugal, about this time or somewhat earlier, for the point is not quite clear, that he fell in love with a Portuguese woman, said to have been of high birth, by whom he had a natural daughter, his only child, who was with him to the end of his life; and perhaps it was on this account that he retained a constant affection for Portugal and the Portuguese. A little later, in 1584, at the age of thirty-eight, he wrote his first acknowledged work, the pastoral poem of "Galatea," and shortly afterwards married the lady for whose sake it is supposed to have been written, a woman much younger than himself, belonging to his own province, and of fairly good fortune; with her he appears to have lived happily till his death, and she desired to be buried by his side. Henceforth, his life was divided between literature, especially the writing of plays, and various petty avocations,—sometimes as a collector of dues for religious orders, sometimes as an agent for buying grain and oil for the fleet,—whereby he was enabled to become very familiar with every aspect of country life in Spain. Once he was imprisoned by the default of a man to whom he had entrusted a large sum of money. In literature, he was always a pioneer, though as yet he had written nothing that could gain for him an immortal name. At last,—if we may follow the tradition, though it is not solidly established,—by the wanton and unexplained act of some unknown person he was incarcerated for a time in the cellar of a house in the little town of Argamasilla in La Mancha. Here, it seems, suggested by some local circumstance of the moment, the germ of "Don Quixote" arose in his mind. A few years later, the first Part was published. Yet later, in 1613, appeared the "*Novelas Exemplares,*" a delightful collection of stories, which, as literature, may be said in some respects to rank even above the greater work. Finally, in 1615, at the age of sixty-eight, he published the second Part of "Don Quixote." During all these years Cervantes lived with his wife, his daughter, his widowed sister and his niece, whom he supported, sometimes in Seville, sometimes in Valladolid, sometimes in Madrid, the three chief cities of a country which was at that moment the first in the world, the largest, the richest, the most civilized, the most brilliant. He died in Madrid, a popular author, but a poor and unhonored man, on April 23rd, 1616, departing from the world but a few days before his great fellow spirit, Shakespeare.

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III.

It was necessary to recapitulate the main facts of the life of Cervantes,—however familiar they may be,—because it is impossible to understand "Don Quixote" unless we realize clearly the figure of the man who stands behind it. We are accustomed to say that the book is a satire of the old romances of chivalry. In a limited sense that is quite true. Cervantes ridiculed the extravagances of chivalrous romance in its decadence. But for "Amadis" and the other great old romances he had nothing but admiration and affection. They were, indeed, a characteristic product of Spain; we may even say the same of chivalry itself, for it lived on in Spain long after it had died everywhere else, fostered by the struggle against the infidel Moslem, himself a chivalrous figure, and the more or less legendary Cid is the supreme representative of chivalry. Cervantes lived his whole life in the spirit of the knight errant, and "Don Quixote" swept away the romances of chivalry, not because it was a satire of them, but because it was itself a romance of chivalry and the greatest of them all, since its action was placed in the real world.

Cervantes was only a man of letters by accident. He was a soldier, a man of action, who would never have taken up the pen, except in moments of recreation, if a long chain of misfortunes had not closed the other avenues of life. It is a singular fact that nearly every great Spanish author has been a soldier or an adventurer, at least as familiar with the pike as with the pen. "The lance has never blunted the pen, nor the pen the lance," said Don Quixote, therein expressing the conviction of all Spanish writers. Italian men of letters have often been keen politicians, French men of letters brilliant men of the world, English and Americans good business men or capable men of affairs, but nowhere save in Spain do we find the soldier supreme in literature. To say nothing of the writers of the golden age of Spain in which Cervantes himself lived, we find the soldier prominent in Spanish literature from the first. Merobaudes, the Christian poet of the fifth century, was also a distinguished soldier; Jaime the Conqueror, the great King of Aragon, is almost as famous for his picturesque chronicle as for his fighting qualities; Bishop Roderic of Toledo, the chief chronicler of the thirteenth century, wielded his sword in the fight with the same vigor as he wielded the pen afterwards in describing the fight; Santillana, the glory

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of Spanish literature in the fifteenth century, was equally great in camp, council and court; Garcilasso de la Vega, one of the most typical of Spanish figures, describes himself as dividing his time between his sword and his pen.

Spain has ever been the land of the sword; the ancient rapier, perhaps even the name itself, is Spanish; Shakespeare's soldiers cherished their Bilbo; the blades of Toledo, valued by the Romans, are still made in that ancient city. It is perhaps not surprising that, with this familiarity with the sword and the rapier, Spanish men of letters, and very notably Cervantes himself, were apt to neglect the more minute graces of style, and to wield the pen with something of the same freedom and force which they had learned from the more brilliant, virile and flexible weapon. It is, perhaps, also not surprising that they learned in the world of action to feel and to express a humanity, an insight, a depth, which are not learned in the study; it was a Spaniard who declared that the poet should speak through the mouth of his wound, "*por la boca de su herida.*" The swift, daring, poignant qualities of Spanish literature seem to bear witness to the fact that these men were trained for the pen by the sword.

In this, as in all else, Cervantes was a typical Spaniard. He was a great personality, a brilliant soldier, long before he conceived "Don Quixote." It is interesting in this respect to compare him with the greatest of his contemporaries in literature, a man as typically English as he was Spanish, and as immortal as himself. In temper of intellect, Shakespeare resembled Cervantes, though he was incomparably the greater artist; they had passed through the same kind of mental evolution, they had the same abounding humanity, and both ultimately attained the same sweet-natured, yet profoundly ironic, vision of life. Yet, if neither of them had ever written, how different, when the antiquaries had disinterred their histories, would be our conception of the two men. They were alike in being of somewhat poor parentage and yet of good family, and both had to make their own way in the world. But all we could say of Shakespeare would be that, after some rather dubious episodes in early life, he became a third-rate actor and a successful manager; that, personally, he was an amiable man, though punctilious in business matters; and that his chief ambition in life was to retire early on a competency, and to write "Gentleman" after his name. There

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are millions of his fellow countrymen of whom one could say as much. But, if Cervantes had never written a line, he would still have seemed an extraordinary man and a great personality. Before he wrote of life, he had spent his best years in learning the lessons of life.

Seldom has any great novel been written by a young man: "Tristram Shandy," "Robinson Crusoe," "Tom Jones," "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*," "Wilhelm Meister" were all written by mature men who had for the most part passed middle age. "Don Quixote"—more especially the second and finer Part—was written by an old man, who had outlived his ideals and his ambitions, and settled down peacefully in a little home in Madrid, poor of purse but rich in the wisdom garnered during a variegated and adventurous life. "Don Quixote" is a spiritual autobiography. That is why it is so quintessentially a Spanish book.

Cervantes was a Spaniard of Spaniards. The great writers of a nation are not always its most typical representatives. Dante could only have been an Italian and Goethe only a German, but we do not feel that either of them is the representative man of his people. We may seek to account for Shakespeare by appealing to various racial elements in Great Britain, but Shakespeare —with his volubility and extravagance, his emotional expansiveness, his lightness of touch, his reckless gayety and wit—was far indeed from the slow, practical, serious Englishman. Cervantes, from first to last, is always Spanish. His ideals and his disillusions, his morality and his humor, his artistic methods as well as his style,—save that he took a few ideas from Italy,—are entirely Spanish. Don Quixote himself and Sancho Panza, his central personages, are not only all Spanish, they are all Spain. Often have I seen them between Madrid and Seville, when travelling along the road, skirting La Mancha, that Cervantes knew so well: the long solemn face, the grave courteous mien, the luminous eyes that seem fixed on some inner vision and blind to the facts of life around; and there also, indeed everywhere, is the round wrinkled good-humored face of the peasant farmer, imperturbably patient, meeting all the mischances and discomforts of life with a smile and a jest and a proverb. "Don Quixote!" I have always exclaimed to myself, "Sancho Panza!" They two make Spain in our day, perhaps, even more than in Cervantes's day; for, sound as Spain still is at the core, the man of heroic action and fearless

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spirit, the *conquistador* type of man, is nowadays seldom seen in the land, and the great personalities of Spain tend to become the mere rhetorical ornaments of a rotten political system. Don Quixote, with his idealism, his pride of race and ancestry, his more or less dim consciousness of some hereditary mission which is out of relation to the world of to-day, is as inapt for the leadership of the modern world, as Sancho Panza, by his very virtues, his brave acceptance of the immediate duty before him, his cheerful and uncomplaining submission to all the ills of life, is inapt for the tasks of progress and reform. The genius of Cervantes has written the history of his own country.

Even in the minute details of his great book we may detect the peculiarly national character of the mind of Cervantes, and his thoroughly Spanish tastes. To mention only one trifling point, we may observe his preference for the color green, which appears in his work in so many different shapes. Perhaps the Moors, for whom green is the most sacred of colors, bequeathed this preference to the Spaniards, though in any case it is the favorite color in a dry and barren land, such as is Spain in much of its extent. Cervantes admires green eyes, like other Spanish poets, though unlike the related Sicilians, for whom dark eyes alone are beautiful; Dulcinea's eyes are "*verdes esmeraldas.*" Every careful reader of "Don Quixote," familiar with Spain, cannot fail to find similar instances of Cervantes's *Españolismo.*

And yet on this intensely national basis, "Don Quixote" is the most cosmopolitan, the most universal, of books. Not Chaucer or Tolstoy shows a wider humanity. Even Shakespeare could not dispense with a villain, but there is no Iago among the six hundred and sixty-nine personages who, it is calculated, are introduced into "Don Quixote." There is no better test of a genuinely human spirit than an ability to overcome the all-pervading influences of religious and national bias. Cervantes had shed his blood in battle against the infidel corsairs of Algiers, and he had been their chained captive. Yet he not only learned and absorbed much from the Eastern life in which he had been soaked for five years, but he acquired a comprehension and appreciation of the Moor which it was rare indeed for a Spaniard to feel for the hereditary foes of his country. Between Portugal and Spain, again, there was then, to an even greater extent than to-day, a spirit of jealousy and antagonism; yet Cervantes can never say too

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much in praise of Portugal and the Portuguese. If there was any nation whom Spaniards might be excused for hating at that time it was the English; those pirates and heretics of the north were perpetually swooping down on their coasts, destroying their galleons, devastating their colonial possessions; Cervantes lived through the days of the Spanish Armada; yet his attitude towards the English is always courteous and considerate.

It was, perhaps, in some measure, this tolerant and even sympathetic attitude towards the enemies of Spain, as well as what seemed to many the ridicule he had cast upon Spanish ideals and Spanish foibles, which so long stood in the way of any enthusiastic recognition by Spain of Cervantes's supreme place in literature. He was for some centuries read in Spain, as Shakespeare was at first read in England, as an amusing author, before he was recognized as one of the world's great spirits. In the mean while, outside Spain, "Don Quixote" was not only finding affectionate readers among people of all ages and all classes; it was beginning to be recognized as a wonderful and many-sided work of art, a treasure-house in which each might find what he sought; an allegory, even, which would lend itself to all interpretations. Heine has recorded how, as a boy by the Rhine, he had read "Don Quixote" with laughter and tears, and how with his own growth the meaning of the book grew with him, a perpetual inspiration. And it is not alone the pioneer in life, the adventurous reformer, the Knight of the Holy Ghost, who turns to "Don Quixote"; the prudent and sagacious man of the world turns thither also with a smile full of meaning, as the wise and sceptical Sydenham turned when an ambitious young practitioner of medicine asked him what he should read: "Read 'Don Quixote.' It is a good book. I read it still." "Don Quixote" is not only the type and pattern of our greatest novels; it is a vision of the human soul, woven into the texture of the world's spiritual traditions. The Knight of La Mancha has indeed succeeded in his quest, and won a more immortal Dulcinea than he ever sought. In the festivals which she holds this month, Spain is expressing her pride in the achievement of a great Spaniard; she is also celebrating one of the immortal possessions of mankind.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

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PROBABLE JAPANESE TERMS OF PEACE.

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKÉ.

"China cedes to Japan, in perpetuity and full sovereignty, the following territories, together with the fortifications thereon:

"(*a*) The southern portion of the province of Fengtien within the following boundaries: The line of demarcation begins at the mouth of the River Yalu and ascends that stream to the mouth of the River Anping; from thence the line runs to Fenhuang; from thence to Haicheng; from thence to Yinkau, forming a line which describes the southern portion of the territory. When the line reaches the River Liao at Yinkau, it follows the course of that stream to its mouth, where it terminates. The mid-channel of the River Liao shall be taken as the line of demarcation. This cession also includes all islands appertaining or belonging to the province of Fengtien, situated in the eastern portion of the bay of Liaotong and in the northern part of the Yellow Sea.

"(*b*) The Island of Formosa, together with all the islands appertaining or belonging to the said Island of Formosa.

"(*c*) The Pescadores group—that is to say, all islands lying between the 119th and 120th degrees of the longitude east of Greenwich and the 23rd and 24th degrees of north latitude."

So reads Article II of the Shimonoseki treaty. It is an old, oft-told tale how, without reason, with little humor, and all because of a polite joint note from Russia, Germany and France, this Article was revised. As for Nippon, she showed her vast appreciation for the wisdom of the weak which is called "expediency"; that was the most remarkable phase of this historic incident. And the diplomatists of civilized Europe, with the excellent Count Cassini at the head of them, knew better than any one else that it was not right. And they laughed, because something about this affair seemed to appeal to their sense of humor and made them good-natured. And it does not seem to require the eternal years of God—which schoolboys have been delighted to claim for the cause of truth crushed to earth—to make right

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that which the wisdom of the diplomatists and the guns of the combined fleet of the triple alliance made wrong ten years ago. For the reassertion of the original Shimonoseki treaty would be, perhaps, the first item in the peace terms.

Nippon would be happy in receiving the remnant of the once proud Pacific squadron of Russia—those war-ships which are now dismantled in neutral ports, and a few that are sealed up in the ice of Vladivostok. And, with the assurances of profound respect, Nippon would avail herself of this opportunity to beg His White Majesty, the Tsar of All the Russias, not to send any more vessels to the Pacific; His Majesty might find better employment for his good ships on waters nearer his home. As a matter of history, these waters of ours are dear to us. It might be said of them: "The same junk sails are pearling in the light of the setting sun, the same picturesque high sterns with which the poets of the Ashikaga period were familiar, the eternal sky above and the waves below are heaving to the tunes and emotions of a thousand years ago." With the cross of St. Andrew lording it over them, however, these seas become veritable nightmares to the very life of Nippon.

Then there is an old score—it is worse than a woman with a past, this affair of the diplomatic relations between Nippon and Russia. As far back as the memory of the Matsumae clan dates, Saghalin and a greater part of the island of Yezo had been under the rule of the daimyo of the clan. In 1780, the Yedo Government sent out two men, Mogami and Kondo, to make a tour of inspection through the islands of Iturup, Urup, Kunashir, and so on. Five years later, ten men were sent out to Saghalin. When the nineteenth century was scarce four years old there appeared in the harbor of Nagasaki a Russian commission; it was headed by Lezanoff. After the manner of all civilized states seeking an introduction to a new land which had never invited them to come to it, the Russians came to us on a benevolent mission. With them they brought a number of shipwrecked men, natives of Nippon. They were not thoughtless or absent-minded; their charitable enthusiasm did not make them forget to present to the Shogun a petition for trade. The Yedo Government, which knew nothing virtuous in the civilized race—schooled as it had been in the bitter days of Romish ambitions in the earlier days of Christian missions in Nippon—declined the invitation to enter into trade relation-

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ship with Russia. The charitable Russian mission turned north and changed its mind, as so often happens with a good man and a good mission; it ravaged the islands of Saghalin and Iturup. About a month after the historic visit of Commodore Perry to Uraga—on the 17th of July, 1853, to be exact—there entered the harbor of Nagasaki a Russian admiral, Putiatin by name. In presenting the letter from Nicholas I, he asked for two things: namely, for a solution of the mooted question of the northern boundary between Nippon and Asiatic Russia, and for the trade of Nippon. Six years later, when the Crimean war was over, in 1859, the famous Count Muravieff entered Yedo Bay in a man-of-war; his dealings with the Chinese officials had made him famous for modesty: he demanded the recognition by Nippon of the whole of Saghalin Island as Russian territory. The Tokugawa shogunate, tottering on its maimed legs, as it was, gave the famous Count of the Amur to understand that there is a certain difference in temperament between the mandarin and the samurai. He succeeded in carrying away with him nothing better than his bad temper. After many a tortuous turn of negotiation, on the 7th of May of our own, and on the 25th of April of the Russian, calendar, 1875, the Gortchakoff-Enomoto treaty was at last signed. The whole of Saghalin Island passed into the hands of Russia; and, in return, Russia agreed to recognize several of the islands of the Kurile group as the territory of Nippon. That the early knowledge that the Nippon Government had as to the resources and value of Saghalin (of which one can still read in the memorials of so able a statesman as Kuroda) made for the satisfaction of an unholy territorial hunger of Russia is beyond all question. Nevertheless. . . . For many a year it has been no secret with us, the people of Nippon, that there is one wish somewhat dearer to the heart of His Majesty the Emperor than others. On the day when he received the dais from his imperial father, the Empire of Nippon contained the island of Saghalin: on the day when he will vacate the dais in favor of his heir, he would see on the map of Nippon at least every inch of the soil which had known the gracious rule of his august father. And, to-day, a wish of His Majesty—I do not care how slight or remote it be—is nothing short of a passion with the people of Nippon. To the eyes of the West, our devotion to our ruler is past all understanding; it may be well to say here that it passes our own understand-

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ing as well. The present war has served, however, to bring home to the minds of our Western friends the existence of this miraculous devotion, which cannot be questioned. Now, the imperial dream of handing down his line the Empire intact is neither slight nor remote. It would be very singular, therefore, if the diplomatists of Nippon should agree on a settlement of this war without the retrocession of Saghalin.

As for the disposition of Manchuria, Nippon has not wrapped her intentions in foggy rhetoric for the puzzle-shelf of diplomacy; she has ever been glad to share them with all the world, and why not? Manchuria is a rich province; the most remarkable thing about it is its future, the promises which its resources hold out to modern enterprise. Nippon did not wish that a party should come along—a party, especially, which has never had any pertinent business there—and build round about its fertile plains a wall much more difficult to break through than the famous walls of ancient China. "Open door" is already a classic phrase with America, England and Nippon. Through the weary months that have fertilized its plains with her blood, Nippon's wishes have never been altered. She wishes Russia to evacuate Manchuria; she has not the slightest desire of remaining in it herself. In making a present of Manchuria to China, Nippon in all fairness might be permitted to ask China to furnish her a joint guarantee from three Powers—namely, America, Great Britain and Nippon herself—that the territory thus turned over to its rightful owner, China, shall not be leased or ceded to a foreign Power: that is one requirement. And the other boon she would be likely to ask is this: That, in consideration of the return of the province wherein is the imperial mausoleum of the reigning house of China, the Chinese Empire would consent to open a number of her provinces, ports and towns to the commerce of all the world. This, of course, is important, commercially, to the interest of Nippon. The chief end in view, however, is to waken our neighbor to her national consciousness.

The world seems to have forgotten that the East-China Railway is a property owned by a private company. Certainly, the Government of the Tsar has not given the road and the curious public many opportunities to see that the railway is the property of a private company; the wolf has not, in spite of its reputed cunning, taken much advantage of the lamb's skin. And in the

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end, and at the time of the reckoning of things in their real status, it will matter but little. If it please the cleverness of the Russian diplomatists to insist that the East-China Railway is the property of a private company, Nippon is not likely to dispute that claim. And Nippon would be happy in paying her respectful attention to the terms of a few articles of the Hague Convention, beginning with the fifty-third, which have something to say about the military occupation of railways that are not of government ownership. One thing is certain, however, that, after all this, Nippon would simply demand that the Government of the Tsar should pay the private company which owns the railway, and turn the East-China branch of the trans-Asian road—that is to say, from Harbin to Port Arthur and Dalny—into the hands of Nippon. Writing as early as June of last year, Dr. Tomizu, one of the highest authorities on law, both domestic and international, also on world-politics, in Nippon, concludes: "At any rate, it is imperative that the Nippon Government should receive into its hands the East-China Railway."

The same authority advocates the cession by Russia to Nippon of the Siberian territory east of Lake Baikal. Now, the entire Russian territory east of Baikal is neither the most modest demand in the world, nor is it well defined. Nippon's actual demand will be more likely to define it as the territory east of the River Amur —the line of demarcation to be drawn from the mouth of the river to Nicholaievsk, and then to follow the course of the river to the Manchurian boundary. This, of course, would include the fortifications and naval base at Vladivostok. The reason for this demand is simple: it is the very same reason for which Nippon took up arms—the permanent peace of the Far East and the future security of the national existence of Nippon. Let the critics who would frown upon this demand as extravagant remember that the war, now that it has come, is with us no flowering of a dream or a gilt toy of glory. Simply, it is a sad operation; a surgeon's knife which fights the cancer, with the patient's life as its stake, would be more than profitless, would be criminal, were it to hesitate to cut out the last vestige of the root of the fatal foe. As it was to American patriots many years ago, the only lamp unto the feet of them who would shape the future of Nippon is history. And the tales of Russia's ambitions, of her appetite for territory, and her absent-mindedness over solemn

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treaties in black and white which the past has to tell are lost in no cloudy rhetoric. Russia is great: it is her potential strength that the Nippon framers of the peace treaty must first of all take into consideration. Nippon has no desire for a future war with Russia—or with any other country. There is only one way open to her—to make herself on the North Pacific stronger than Russia will be after she shall have recovered from the effects of this war, after she shall have been born again, after she shall have come to her own national consciousness.

"The meaning of the conclusion of a peace treaty must needs be the same as the establishment of definite and effective measures to prevent a future war which might arise without them," wrote the "Nippon," one of the three conservative dailies of Tokio, in its editorial column of the issue of the twenty-fourth of January of the thirty-eighth year of Meiji. It went on to comment:

"If you were to allow your imagination to roam over the possible battle-fields of a future war between Russia and Nippon, it would necessarily travel both on land and over seas; it would not be a simple trip. As for the naval aspect of it, however, it is comparatively simple. At this day, and henceforth, Port Arthur being already in our hands, there is only one thing necessary—to place Vladivostok at our command. That is the only naval base for the homing of the Russian squadron so far away from home. It would be practically impossible to establish any other naval base of importance on the Pacific in the future; and the reason of it all is simple: there is not another point on all the Russian littoral on the Pacific that would serve well the Russian ambitions and dreams of the command of the sea. If we succeed in attaining one of the two ends in view—namely, either to annex the port of Vladivostok or force Russia to agree to make it a non-naval port—Russia shall have lost the last naval base in the Far-Eastern waters. . . . The order of the day is the occupation of Vladivostok. For this reason, we say that the time for our country to devote her attention to peace propositions must of necessity be after the occupation of Vladivostok."

To cope with Russia, when Russia is a unit, alive and wide awake to every phase of her strength, that, certainly, is no dwarf's programme. For Nippon, as she stands to-day, to dream of such a thing is simply to make herself ridiculous with a madman's delusion. It is always safer to count upon your own strength than to depend on the sense of justice, humanity and responsibility of your allies. With a Power, however, that is unquestioned mistress of the North Pacific, and whose flag covers practically the

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entire stretch of coast-line from the mouth of the Liao River to Nikolaievsk, with sufficient hinterland to make her sovereignty solid, matters will be different. Then Nippon might be able to sleep upon a high pillow. Now that the unhappy war is on, every one in the Land of the Gods is praying the eight million gods of his fathers that this shall be the last of the dark *jigoku* upon earth. At the end of our diplomatic defeat ten years ago, which crowned our victorious land with a crown of thorns, we nevertheless were happy enough to receive a precious lesson. And now the people of Nippon are prepared to do either one of these two things: to die in this present struggle, under a cloudless sky, a death honored and brave, such as would have been dear to the hearts of the samurai of old; or to live in such a manner that the very idea of aggression upon their rights would be ridiculous even in the eyes of the civilized West.

The Russian cession of the Amur district is important from a military and strategic standpoint. There is something more important even than that; it helps to solve a question which might be considered rather vital. The cession of the Saghalin Island and the Amur district would place in the hands of Nippon the fisheries of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Gulf of Tatary, as well as that of the northern portion of the Sea of Nippon. At present, the fishing interest of Nippon in the waters round about Saghalin amounts to a good deal over three million yen a year. With Saghalin and the Amur littoral in our hands, and with a careful administration of the fishing industry, the business would amount to over twenty million yen a year. And the fishing possibilities in the Sea of Okhotsk are far more important than in the waters about Saghalin. Another thing: Since the adoption of the gold standard in our country, Korea has been furnishing us gold to the value of from three to five million yen every year. A very little gold is produced in Nippon. The gold-mining in Korea and the Amur districts would do much to place our monetary system on a firmer basis.

Indemnity? It is far too early to speak of that. That certainly depends solely on the duration of the war.

ADACHI KINNOSUKE.

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ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AFFECTING THE VISAYAN ISLANDS.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM H. CARTER, U.S.A.

THE Visayan Islands constitute a most important group of the Philippines, from a commercial point of view; for nearly all the sugar and a great part of the hemp exported from the Archipelago are produced in the Visayas. The bulk of the sugar is shipped from the port of Iloilo, although produced by the neighboring island of Negros. The hemp of Leyte commands always the highest market price, and there is a very wide range of values between the best and the poorest qualities of that fibre. An early return to a state of prosperity in the Visayas depends upon a proper solution of economic questions which relate to these, its principal, productions, rather than upon any considerations of academic politics; no one appreciates this more thoroughly than the Visayans *themselves*.

It should be understood that, while the export trade is nearly all in the hands of British, Spanish and other foreign houses, the agricultural operations are quite generally in the hands of Visayans. The result of this arrangement has produced a widespread feeling of pending misfortune, for the reason that all the commercial houses refrained during the past season from advancing money to the sugar-planters. Many sugar-fields have been allowed to lie fallow, but, nevertheless, a considerable crop will find its way to market.

The failure to secure money on credit may not be a grave misfortune to the planters. If the price of sugar is remunerative, those who have produced crops will be financially able to go on next year without further dependence upon the money-lenders; and those whose haciendas now lie fallow will only be in debt to the Government for their taxes, and not in the hands of Shylocks.

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There is no better land anywhere for the production of sugar-cane than in the island of Negros. To develop this well-established industry does not require great capital, but settled conditions and a fixed policy as to tariff barriers. It is not so much a question of aid, as of a knowledge as to what fixed trade relations will exist between the islands and the United States. It is uncertainty, quite as much as the loss of farm animals, which is now holding back this industry.

No man with business instincts can study the situation on the spot without reaching the conviction that there is a great market in the Orient for all the sugar the Philippines can produce, and that what is needed is a better grade of cane, modern machinery and sugar refineries in Iloilo. An inferior quality of cane is planted; the harvesting is done without reference to proper economy of labor, and the crushing of the cane is crude and lacking in thoroughness. In fact, the whole process, from planting to marketing the crop, is in need of modernization, and this will come in due time. Even with the same grade of cane now planted, the profits could be materially increased by better methods at the mills.

In China there lies a great undeveloped sugar-market, for the Chinese are but beginning to acquire the sugar habit; and Japan may be safely counted upon as the legitimate market for the Visayan sugar output whenever the Philippine tariff may be arranged with that end in view.

Of course, the development of a sugar-market in the great interior of China will mean a general trade with the Chinese, for it is not in accord with the history of economic development for the people of one country to make payment for goods to another country in cash, which is to be expended in still another country, that may be the political parent of the people supplying the goods.

It has been said many times in public speeches that, when the Filipinos have been under the American flag long enough to understand the benefits which it confers, they will not want political independence, and there is much probability of truth in the statement. On the other hand, if America will, for a period of five years, lower the tariff barriers which the people of the Visayas regard as the cause of industrial depression in their beautiful islands, it is equally certain that the barriers will forever remain removed.

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The next in importance of the industries of the Visayas is the cultivation of hemp. While the hemp is known to the commercial world as "Manila hemp," the island of Luzon by no means produces the bulk of the crop. The Visayas contain several islands endowed by nature with the peculiar soil and climatic conditions favorable to the production of high-grade hemp fibre, but the quantity produced in all the Philippines is not what it ought to be. A hemp-stripping machine is to the hemp industry what the cotton-gin is to the cotton industry; yet for more than a hundred years the hemp trade of the Philippines has suffered for the lack of such an invention. The demand for a high-grade Manila hemp has always exceeded the supply, and the price paid has been so remunerative that it has actually lowered the amount of production of the high-grade article. The demand being great, the native hemp-workers found they could get a good price for an inferior article, and naturally brought to market that which could be produced with the least labor.

Hemp-stripping by hand is the most severe labor involved in the production of any crop in the Philippine Islands. When stripping with a smooth knife, a native works only about every other day, the intervening time being considered necessary for recuperation from exhaustion. By allowing the hemp to lie in the rain and soften, and by using serrated blades, the fibre is secured with much less labor, but it is of an inferior quality and discolored. Complaints have been frequent, and efforts have been made to correct the abuse which has threatened the very existence of the hemp trade. Many substitutes have been tried, and with some success; but there is nothing known to equal the best quality of Philippine hemp.

Since American occupation of the islands, the necessity of a machine stripper has been universally recognized, and the honor of having practically solved the question seems to have fallen to a young American engineer, Robert Edward Lindsay. Doubtless, the machine invented by Mr. Lindsay will undergo many improvements; but in its present form it is reported as being capable of turning out sixty pounds of first-class white hemp, of uniform quality, every hour by the labor of two men. Under the existing system, an average hemp-worker can strip about forty-five pounds of fibre in a day.

At the prevailing price of hemp, a good native worker may earn

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enough in a few days to supply his simple wants for an indefinite period; and, as the workers are under no contract or obligation, the output has been very uncertain. It is not to be expected that the ignorant natives of the hemp districts will approve of the introduction of the machine, but the usefulness of the invention is so great that companies will now be able to engage in hemp production on a greater scale than ever before. There is no reason why the Philippines should not supply the world with the best grade of white hemp, and the full development of this trade with America may result in a stream of gold akin to that which flows steadily from our supposedly worthless purchase, Alaska, and London may no longer be the distributing-point for the world supply of this fibre.

Sugar and hemp are by far the most important articles of commerce of the Visayas, but there are other industries which incidentally furnish support for a large population. Not the least of these are the cocoanut plantations, for which nature has endowed the coast lines of nearly all the Visayas. Copra is a staple article of commerce, and the output may readily be trebled in quantity and improved in quality, while the by-products may be made to pay nearly all the expenses through the establishment of local factories for handling the cocoanut crop at the centres of trade in the islands.

The Visayas have for several years depended upon Indo-China and French-China for rice; but the abundant crop of native rice recently harvested will serve to reduce greatly the necessity for drawing so heavily on foreign sources during the coming year for this essential article of Oriental diet.

The lumber resources are vast and valuable, but they are not yet readily accessible, because of lack of transportation and an intricate and paternal system of forestry control. These conditions will be ameliorated as prosperity comes in other lines, and as experience and expediency dictate modifications.

Not the least interesting of the Visayan industries is the production of the hand-looms which supply the greater part of the native clothing. The native costumes may vary in color and material, but seldom in fashion or cut. The materials used vary from cotton and coarse hemp, through several finer fibres, to silk. The Province of Iloilo is the centre of the jussi and peña industry, and it would be difficult to find more dainty materials than are

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produced by the industrious native women. The jussi fibre and the silk used in the production of the best qualities of goods are imported from China, the other fibres used being found in the home islands. This weaving industry is carried on in the houses of nearly all the natives above the field-hand class, and the profits furnished food for a vast number of women and children during the critical period following American occupation. The high rate of duty now operating at American ports against this class of goods has had the effect of producing pinching poverty amongst a worthy class of native women workers, without any corresponding benefit to American factories.

The Visayan women are usually more industrious than the men, but there has been a tendency to condemn the laborers before they have had an honest trial. In several recent instances, a considerable number of laborers have been taken from the Visayas for employment on public works in other portions of the Archipelago, and unsatisfactory results have followed. Careful investigation has usually developed the fact that promises made to the Visayans have not been faithfully kept.

It is true that the native Visayan is not, and never can be, capable of performing as much work as the large, well-nourished American. The native, however, can and does work according to his physical ability and mental training, and for very much less pay than would be offered to the poorest American. It has been the experience of many Government officials that there is no difficulty in obtaining laborers in the Visayas, in any number, and for any work required, *so long as they are honestly and promptly paid.* By basing all calculations on the physical capacity of the native and *paying him his just dues,* the whole character of the labor problem should be changed in a few years. Many labor troubles in the more civilized countries have resulted from the practice of paying laborers in store checks and other devices; and not a few of our bloody Indian wars have had their origin in broken faith.

Many Americans have joined with foreign investors in the islands in the cry for removal of the restriction on the importation of Chinese labor. There is grave danger in this cry, and if, through the expediency of the moment, coolie labor be introduced in the Visayas, the evil effects on the natives, as well as on the American Government, will far exceed any possible benefits. The

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Chinese now in the islands have driven the natives out of business, until there remains only one business house in native hands in the largest city of the Visayas. The wholesale business of the Visayas is controlled by British, Spanish, German, Swiss and other nationalities, except American, and the small retail stores are nearly all in the hands of Chinamen.

Under these conditions, should Chinese coolie labor be brought in for plantation work, there is nothing left for about 2,000,000 Visayan native laborers (the population numbers nearly 3,000,000), but to starve and steal. This means a large increase of Army and Constabulary expenses, for it would produce many conditions akin to those involved in the settlement of the Indian question. Can any reasonable man doubt that the natives would harass and murder the coolies unless every hacienda were furnished with a guard? It is far wiser and more humane to develop the islands slowly, rather than introduce an element of discord fraught with so many evil consequences.

It may be readily understood that existing economic conditions and consequent lack of employment have had a deleterious effect upon the natives who have heretofore been engaged in the production of staple crops. Organized bands of robbers have received many recruits from amongst the idle, and have kept the whole body of people in a state of fear. It is the old, old story of a long strike—discord, arson and murder. When prosperity returns to the Visayas, those who are willing to labor will find ample employment; and the strong arm of the Government may then be effectively employed to restore order and give protection to life and property. In this it will receive the aid and encouragement of all intelligent Visayans, who desire nothing so much as that their islands shall be soon restored to a condition of prosperity and good order, which will enable them to move onward to a higher and more material development than has hitherto been possible.

WILLIAM H. CARTER.

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LOSSES ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

BY DR. LOUIS ELKIND.

FROM whatever point of view it may be considered, it is certain that war between two great Powers never fails to command the attention of the whole civilized world. The military man, for instance, takes keen interest, say, in the tactics displayed by the rival armies and their generals; the commercial world, taking it as a whole, is concerned as to the effect events will have on trade in general and finance in particular. As a matter of fact, no section of society can be regarded as a disinterested witness of a great conflict between two powerful nations. Apart from these considerations, it can safely be said that what most vividly impresses the mind of the general public is the number of losses sustained by each side. Put briefly, there is an idea, more or less generally prevalent, that, in consequence of the ever-increasing deadliness of the arms used in battle, and the immense number of shots that can be projected in a given time, the losses nowadays are greater than occurred in the wars of former times. On the whole, this idea gained ground during the South-African War, and it has become still more general since the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. For this, no doubt, some of the newspaper correspondents are much to be blamed: as a rule, they are not deterred from sending greatly exaggerated reports of losses, just as they did of the losses recently sustained in the streets of St. Petersburg on the so-called "Vladimir Day." Unfortunately, no official report has been published as yet of the actual number of casualties sustained in the fierce fighting at 203 Metre Hill and Akasaku-yama, which took place during the last days of November and the first five days of December, when important positions were captured and retaken time and again. In this instance, no doubt, the percentage of loss must have considerably exceeded

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previous records. For this battle—in which small tins containing dynamite, hand-grenades and large high-explosive shells were used—was fought on both sides with a bravery and savagery more reckless than any modern historian has as yet registered. But, apart from this, the number of killed and injured in the other battles fought between the forces of Russia and Japan is certainly not above the normal, and is, moreover, relatively far less than was the case in many former encounters, say, during the first half of the last century, and still further back. The Crusaders, for instance, lost whole armies, and Gustavus Adolphus lost, in the vicinity of Nuremberg in 1632, half of his men between the middle of August and the end of September. In each of these cases, however, it was disease much more than the arms of the enemy that was the cause.

In a military campaign, deaths result from three principal causes: first, defective sanitary arrangements; secondly, inadequate medical and surgical treatment; thirdly, the arms of the enemy. As time has gone on, science and civilization have made great and rapid progress, and, as a consequence, considerable and far-reaching improvements have been made under each of these three heads, that is to say, towards preserving life and towards the means of destroying it.

As regards sanitary measures, the advance made in this direction, particularly during the last three or four decades, and the highly beneficial results and the radical improvements by which it was attended are, on the whole, well known and, therefore, no more need be said on this point.

A subject, however, of very great interest is that of army surgery and its development, even if for no other reason than that it helps to explain in an obvious and satisfactory manner why it is that fewer men are lost in modern warfare than there used to be. The space at my disposal does not permit of going into details; but it is interesting to record that the first notable scientific treatise on the subject is the work of an Italian surgeon named Vigo, which was published, under the heading of "*De Vulnere Facto ab Instrumento quod Bombarda Nuncupatur,*" in the second decade of the sixteenth century. So great was Vigo's reputation that this publication was regarded by the author's contemporaries as something almost infallible, and the precepts laid down therein were for years carried out practically to the letter, especially by

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those surgeons who were attached to the armies of Charles V and Francis I. From the historic point of view, however, it should be added that this was not actually the first essay dealing with battle-field surgery. H. Brunschwig, a German surgeon, wrote one twenty years earlier; but as he was, comparatively speaking, an obscure man, his work attracted little or no attention. On the other hand, Vigo enjoyed some reputation as a philosopher; and, as philosophy and medicine were in those days regarded as inseparable sciences, and, moreover, as he was at the same time the friend and medical adviser of Pope Julius II, his celebrity was all the greater. Vigo is, therefore, always considered as the pioneer of this particular branch of surgical work, or, rather, he was until quite recently. For a very interesting discovery was made in this respect just about thirty years ago; and, as this fact is far from being generally known, it deserves to be recorded here.

Amongst the literary bequests made by a German physician there was found a long essay in the shape of a manuscript, written some four centuries ago, and dealing with this subject of the surgical treatment of wounded men. Its author was a lay brother of a certain monastic order, who, it would appear, was present at the siege of Marienburg—that is, as far back as 1457—and who, indeed, saw much fighting in the course of his life. So far as we know, the monk was the first man to write down his ideas as to the best way to treat wounds sustained in battle, but he did not publish his essay, which, by the way, is dated 1460.

Further, when Vigo's famous work was given to the world, powder had not long been discovered, and was just then beginning to be used—at least to a general extent. Naturally enough, his interest was largely aroused by this discovery; and, after long and laborious investigations into the matter, as he tells us, "he felt justified in expressing his view to the effect that a shot fired by powder poisoned the wound made, the explosive being the poisonous element." Again, continuing his researches, he came to the conclusion that the best way to treat such a wound was "to cauterize it, and then pour boiling oil into it"—a frightful infliction on the unfortunate man who fell into the surgeon's hands. The high esteem in which Vigo was held by his professional brethren was mainly responsible for the fact that these barbarous measures were carried out to the letter, and innumerable wounded men died in consequence.

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Indeed, no chapter in the whole history of Medicine and Surgery affords such painful reading as does that which relates to this particular period of dealing with wounds and similar injuries. Great and important discoveries, as is well known, are made by accident, and here we have again, as will be seen later on, a confirmation of this rule.

Amongst the originally misguided surgeons who were in the employ of Charles V and of Francis respectively, were two who are justly entitled to fame, for one of them laid the foundation, from the scientific point of view, of the theory and practice of surgery, and the other did a like service with regard to the anatomical sciences. The latter, Andreas Vesalius, used surreptitiously to make *post-mortem* examinations of the bodies of fallen soldiers, and thus gained what was in his day a remarkable and accurate knowledge of anatomy. Ambroise Paré, the surgeon, a Frenchman, had, so he tells us in his exceedingly interesting and instructive book, "*Le Voyage de Thurin*," never seen a wound on the battle-field before joining the army in what he calls "an official and responsible position." However, he had carefully studied Vigo's famous treatise; and when he was called upon to attend wounded soldiers he carried out the philosopher's instructions, until, as he cheerfully admits, he became short of oil. He says:

"I did not sleep during the following night, for I was haunted by the thought of the unfortunate men whose wounds I had not been able to cauterize in the usual way. With the dawn of morning I hurried to them, filled with fear that they would be poisoned and dead. But what a miracle! Those whom I had not cauterized slept well, their wounds were practically free of any inflammatory signs—such as, for instance, redness and swelling—and, moreover, they complained of little or no pain: on the other hand, those who had been treated strictly according to Vigo's precepts exhibited a most painful and, indeed, heartrending appearance, for none of the classical signs of inflammation were absent."

From that moment it became clear to Paré that the almost inhuman treatment of wounded men which Vigo so successfully advocated was in the highest degree responsible for the huge losses the army had sustained, and he decided to discontinue all cauterization. To make a long story short, Paré went even so far as to test in a practical manner the theory according to which powder was a highly poisonous substance. He administered "*la poudre à canon*," as he terms it, internally to wounded soldiers,

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who felt no ill effects. Happily, in this striking way a new order of things was prepared for. As a matter of fact, surgical science was thereupon placed on what may be described as a proper and scientific basis; and, as it was just about that time that firearms were first being used to a considerable extent in warfare, the importance of the discovery of the harmfulness of Vigo's conclusions cannot well be overestimated.

Speaking generally, one of the reasons why the public are led to suppose that modern battles are more deadly than those of past times, is that rifles and guns have a far greater range now than hitherto. The result of this, however, is that battles are fought between enemies separated by a considerable distance, and it can be shown that the greater the distance the less deadly is the shot that finds a human billet. Thus, as the range has increased, the chances of being killed on the spot, or dangerously injured, have markedly decreased. This is, indeed, so much the case that, whilst in the great battles fought, say, between 1741 and 1878 (including the Russo-Turkish War), out of each hundred hit twenty-five perished immediately, the percentage of immediate deaths in more recent campaigns, according to the latest statistics, did not exceed 17.3, and, as a rule, it varied between 7.5 and 15.1.

Now, as regards the effectiveness of long-distance shots, a simple but very interesting experiment—which tends to explain how it came about that the number of immediate deaths in warfare has been reduced to such a favorable and pronounced degree—may be briefly described here. If, say, a hollow leaden ball which is quite empty be fired at from a short distance, the bullet will pass right through and cause no other damage than the making of two holes; but, if that ball were filled with water or some other fluid or pulpy matter, it would be broken into fragments. Suppose, however, that it were placed at a considerable distance from the firearm, then, even though it were filled with some thick fluid, the effect of the shot would be just the same as if it were empty. The greater the distance, then, the less the effect, and this holds good as regards certain parts of the human body, especially the skull. When the skull is penetrated by a bullet fired at a short distance from it, the skin which covers it is torn into numerous pieces, the bone itself is broken into fragments, and parts of the brain protrude as if taken out artificially; but, if the bullet has

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travelled a long distance, the skin, though torn, holds the skull bones together, and these bones, instead of being smashed, are merely fissured, and, as a rule, are well amenable to modern surgical treatment. The extremities, too, are affected in the same manner, that is to say, they are wounded according to distance, but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that certain other parts of the body do not conform to this rule—the abdomen and chest, for instance.

Taken altogether, the increased efficiency of arms used in warfare has had the somewhat paradoxical effect of reducing, to a very considerable extent, the soldier's chance of being killed on the spot. Other causes which have helped to lessen the average of deaths are the introduction of arms of small calibre, and the discontinuance of soft lead bullets in favor of those of harder material. Soft lead bullets are much the more deadly; indeed, it has been shown beyond doubt that, when a soft lead bullet reaches the tissue, it splits into small parts—splashes, as it were—and thus inflicts terrible injuries, inasmuch as it destroys all the tissues, soft and hard, around. On the other hand, the hard lead bullet cuts through the tissue and blood-vessels as cleanly as a knife and penetrates all the layers of tissue; consequently, the damage done is materially less and, from the therapeutic point of view, far more favorable.

In connection with this, it should be pointed out that soft bullets were not abandoned from humane motives so much as from the consideration of good marksmanship. It has been found that particles of such bullets remain in the barrel of the rifle after being fired, and correct aiming soon becomes difficult or impossible. Then, also, a hard bullet can be fired a far greater distance, and, moreover, it maintains its velocity. But, all the same, from the humane point of view it is well that soft bullets are no longer used to any great extent.

Again, on two vital points at least we are left in darkness, as it were, by history. For historians, taking them as a whole, do not tell us as to the undercurrents which mould the destinies of nations—and such information would have been most valuable just now, in view of the recent tragic events in Russia. Nor have they come to any definite opinion as to what percentage of an army should be killed or wounded before defeat is acknowledged—a fact the importance of which does not require any further com-

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ment. The student must, therefore, make close examination of much of the mass of data there is to hand. The figures of killed and wounded in some of the world's greatest battles impress one very strongly with the fact that, the more perfect the training and discipline of the troops, the greater are the losses sustained before there is occasion to admit defeat. In the times of Frederick the Great and of Napoleon, enormous losses—proportionally speaking, perhaps the largest ever reached—were inflicted on the armies of those great generals, and still there was no necessity to retreat or capitulate: facts which have led military historians to conclude that never were armies more perfectly trained for war than those commanded by Frederick and Napoleon. In direct contrast to this, we have records of battles between contending factions in small states in which the percentage of men lost by the losing side was as low as 0.5 or even 0.3. This was notably the case in the Liberation Wars in some of the minor German States (1848-1849), but the Italians, too, especially during that particular period, do not seem to have offered stubborn resistance to the victorious Austrians. For the former were defeated at the battle of Custozza (1848) and at that of Novara (1849) with a loss of 0.9 and 3.7 per cent. respectively. The same remark applies, amongst others, to the wars of the Hungarian Insurrection. The less the discipline, therefore, the sooner are troops demoralized when under fire. On the other hand, Russian armies have not been defeated until the ranks have been reduced to the extent of 30 or 45 per cent.—a circumstance which tends to confirm the reports of many eye-witnesses that Russians in battle are quite indifferent to death. The losses sustained by the British troops in some of the battles in South Africa, in which they were defeated, were comparatively very small, only 2.5 or 4.8 per cent. of the whole, this being one of the reasons why Continental critics expressed such strongly adverse views on the work of the British generals. Taking this matter of the percentage of losses in battle as a whole, it would be highly desirable that, in the event of an international conference being again held to decide as to what kind of explosives should or should not be used in civilized warfare, the question should also be discussed as to what is the largest percentage of losses that can or should be sustained before an army is defeated. For in the proceedings of the International Conference on this subject, held at St. Petersburg in 1868, no

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precise indication on this point is contained. And, on the other hand, the statistics, as we have them, are so varied that they are confounding.

Interesting, also, would it be to ascertain what amount of explosive and shot is required, or rather has been required, to put one man out of action, striking, of course, an average. The information which we have on this point is very meagre. In one battle, however, "the Battle of the Nations," we are told that 12,000,000 cartridges were used on the side of the Allies, together with 179,000 gun charges, and that these killed or wounded 48,000 men on the French side. It follows, therefore, that only one shot in 250 found a human billet. Every hit was, therefore, obtained at an enormous expenditure of ammunition. That battle (Leipsic) was fought as far back as October, 1813, but in more recent battles the average expenditure has been reduced considerably. It would seem that, at the time when smooth-bore rifles were used, 325 cartridges were fired for every adversary hit, while the old muzzle-loaders necessitated an expenditure of between 350 and 475 shots; but, with the breech-loader, not more than some 120 cartridges, or thereabouts, are required to obtain one successful shot. The conflict in South Africa was conducted on far different lines from what had ever prevailed before. Battles were fought in which the contending sides were a long distance apart, and the Boers in particular were generally well under cover. Consequently, the number of shots fired which had no effect was unusually large.

Another point to be considered is that losses are generally very unevenly distributed amongst the various troops, this, of course, being in accordance with the degree of exposure and the density of the colors on a given area of ground. Then, also, there is the question as to whether a frontal attack is made or one from the rear; in the former case, the number of successful shots made by the defenders is far greater than in the latter. Infantry, it has been shown, lose much more severely than cavalry, even though the latter get under heavy fire. In the Franco-German War—to mention only one instance—the number of killed in the infantry amounted to 52.79 per cent. as against 27.08 in the cavalry, 27.22 in the artillery and 17.63 in the pioneers—according to von Mayer's, Mayo-Smith's and G. de Molinari's statistics.

There is another important point which deserves particularly

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to be emphasized, namely, that in nearly all the great battles the number of officers killed is considerably greater, relatively speaking, than the number of men, the proportion, on an average, being 28.04 per cent. against 13.7 per cent.—a circumstance which well illustrates the bravery, as well as the sense of responsibility, of the leaders of the men in all armies.

As I have already pointed out, a great number of circumstances have happily combined to bring about a gradual and considerable reduction in the average losses in modern battles. However, a little further inquiry into this matter may not be without interest. First of all, such weapons as swords and lances, which were used with very deadly effect during a long period of history, and notably so in the course of the Thirty Years' War, during which Germany sustained a loss in life of at least 11,750,000, are now not well adapted to use in battles, and have been abandoned for the most part—that is to say, to a percentage, if compared with other arms, as low as 3.8 or even 1.1. The musket, also, a most effective weapon, has gone; and, strange as it may seem, the improved rifle which has taken its place does not bring about nearly so many losses in the enemy's ranks. The soldier who was hit by a bullet fired from a musket may be said, in almost every case, to have looked death in the face. The modern rifle has a much greater range than the musket, but is of smaller calibre. This latter point makes it less deadly; but, then, the object of firing is not so much to kill one of the enemy as to put him out of action. Again, it was the practice, until quite recently, to extract a bullet which had become lodged in the body, with the consequence that, in the course of the operations, matter capable of causing some infection was often introduced into the body, with a fatal result. But it has been discovered, largely in the course of treatment of cases of attempted suicide, that, even when a bullet has entered such a vital organ as, say, the brain, the patient may recover without the bullet's being touched. This occurs in about 79 per cent. of such cases—according to some recently published statistics. Experience in this matter is in contradiction to long-established theory, but it is an experience of the utmost value, which military surgeons have turned to practical account—with remarkably good results. And, further, take the cases of injuries to the knee sustained on the battle-field. Formerly, that is until about two decades ago, as many as 83 or 87 per cent. of soldiers

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so injured died of their wound, but, thanks to modern surgical treatment, there has been an enormous reduction in the mortality from this cause, which now scarcely exceeds 18 per cent., and often enough it amounts to only 17 or 15 per cent.

Another important cause of the reduction of mortality is the discovery that, in cases of bullet-fracture, amputation of the injured limb is not imperative, as was formerly thought to be the case. On the whole, wounds can now be treated antiseptically, and it is only in very exceptional cases that amputation is resorted to.

Finally, a few months ago attention was called in the press to the fact that the Japanese, before going into battle, changed their shirts, evidently with the object of avoiding wound-infection that might arise from contact with the dirt and perspiration which would collect on a shirt that had been worn for some little time. The supposed "low" mortality amongst the Japanese troops was ascribed partly to this simple precaution. It is, therefore, interesting to note that experiments, which have recently been made by some reliable observers—Prof. Pfuhl amongst others—have yielded striking and unexpected results. The highly interesting fact was thus established that those kinds of bacteria, which perspiration (or dirt resulting from it) may under certain circumstances contain, are invariably of a non-virulent character—that is, they are perfectly harmless, and, consequently, the inference which has been somewhat hastily drawn is incorrect.

LOUIS ELKIND.

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ENGLISH GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.*

BY G. BALDWIN BROWN, WATSON GORDON PROFESSOR OF FINE ART IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

THERE is no phase of architectural history upon which more has been written than the Early Gothic period. It has been remarked that the change in the artistic character of buildings when the Romanesque style yielded place to Gothic, was more sudden and complete than any similar revolution of taste in the whole history of the arts; and it is natural to demand where and under what conditions the new impulse had its birth. The Gothic movement produced, in all the lands of Western Europe, groups of monuments differing in local characteristics, though inspired by essentially the same artistic idea; and the comparison of these groups leads to inquiries about their historical connections and comparative æsthetic value.

It is now fully recognized that Central France, the so-called *domaine royal,* with Paris as its capital, was the focus of the energies that created the Gothic style; but it is a question whether all the other local forms of the art were merely derived from France, or possessed any independence of their own. English Gothic occupies in this respect a special position. It is so remarkable an artistic achievement that, at one time, to the insular imagination it represented the style in general, as if Gothic were an English institution in which other countries only shared. Continental writers, who naturally repudiated these claims, have on the other hand gone too far in exhibiting English Gothic as

* "A History of Gothic Art in England." By Edward S. Prior, M.A., London, George Bell and Sons, 1900.
"Development and Character of Gothic Architecture." By Charles Herbert Moore. Second Edition. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899.
"*Die Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes.*" By Dr. G. Dehio *und* G. von Bezold. Vol. II. Stuttgart, 1898.

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merely a daughter of that of France. A small book on the subject by a recent French writer, M. Corroyer, which has appeared in an English dress,* is pervaded with the notion that British Gothic is nothing but a bad copy of French, and the "Gothic Architecture" of Professor Moore, a book of the highest merit where French work is concerned, deals with English art from much the same standpoint. All the more valuable is the weighty pronouncement of Continental opinion that has lately issued from the press in Germany. The most comprehensive general history of ecclesiastical architecture in Western Europe that has yet appeared, is the "*Kirchliche Baukunst*" of Dehio and von Bezold, and on this important question of origin the authors favor the British view. They write:

"The English school is not like all the Continental schools a branch of the French, but rather a side-stem issuing out of the same root. . . . Regarded as a whole, Early English is an essentially autonomous style. What it owes to French Gothic is only the first impulse. It is true that it does not remain wholly untouched in later times by influences from this side, but they were dealt with in such a strongly national spirit that they left no traces that can be recognized."

It is, accordingly, no mere aberration of patriotic sentiment when we find the English architect Mr. Edward S. Prior, in his "History of Gothic Art in England," exhibiting the Gothic style of his country in process of formation through a series of monuments of the last half of the twelfth century, in which little or no French influence can be discerned. On the whole, he is successful in vindicating the independence of English work, but it is an independence that, from the nature of the case, cannot be absolute. Mr. Prior goes too far when he would free this work from all influences from the Central district of France. The revolution in artistic taste referred to at the beginning of this paper must have depended on some of those deep-seated moral and social influences which underlie artistic movements. Now, there was nothing in the religious or intellectual condition of England in the twelfth century to account for a revolution of the kind. In Central France, on the other hand, there existed at that period every possible condition, intellectual, emotional, social, fitted to supply inspiration to a new artistic movement, and to direct it to such an outcome as it found in Gothic.

*"Gothic Architecture." By Edouard Corroyer. London, Seeley, 1893.

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From the scholastic philosophy which had its home in the University of Paris, to the humanity and civic illumination that were embodied at a later date in that representative personality of the Gothic age, St. Louis, the elements at work in the *domaine royal* were making for an art of this special type. It was not only the sagacious technical manipulation of constructive forms by the builders of the earliest Gothic monuments that created the style, but the fact that these new constructive devices were made the artistic expression of a spiritual movement that was already in that region astir. It was because this movement spread outwards from Paris as a centre that Gothic in England, and in other parts of the West, took upon it the same æsthetic character. To this extent the style in question is incontestably a production of Central France, in that it found there, and there only, its spiritual impulse. The constructive and æsthetic factors of Gothic were gathered from many parts, but the soul of the movement by which they were made to act together in the unity of an organized system was French. Like the enthusiasm for the Crusades in the eleventh century, we find now in the twelfth the wave of Gothic inspiration passing from France to England, and without it English Gothic would not have come into being. The two styles represent independent artistic developments that culminated on the one side of the Channel in Salisbury and Wells, on the other in Amiens and Reims; but underlying the artistic developments was a movement of the human mind that began the great awakening which has made modern Europe, and the centre of this movement was Paris.

To establish the historical connection of the French and English Gothic styles is a considerable step towards a just understanding of their relative artistic values. English Gothic has been depreciated on the ground that it was a mere copy of French, and again, in contradictory fashion, blamed for its lack of qualities admired in its supposed prototype. As soon as we regard the two as in a great measure independent, this arbitrary procedure ceases, and each style can be judged on its own merits. Upon these merits there has existed a curious diversity of opinion. The æsthetic qualities of English Gothic are scarcely ever referred to by Continental writers without a note of depreciation, and there is little about it that Mr. Charles Moore finds to praise, save

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the transeptal ends, the central towers and a few of the minor features. He tests the work entirely by French; and, *Gallis ipsis gallicior,* rejects all that does not accord with this special standard. But we cannot reasonably condemn English work for falling short of the French ideal, if it was all the time inspired by a distinct ideal of its own. We must strive to enter with sympathy into the spirit of all local developments of the one great artistic movement, and to judge each from its own standpoint. This need not involve indiscriminate praise. We come here to an exaggeration on the other side, which is equally to be deprecated. There is a tendency in Mr. Prior's book to present English Gothic as possessed of all the architectural virtues. It is obvious that he has every desire to be fair, but his English idiosyncrasies involve him in statements and apologies that evince a want of keenness in what may be termed the tectonic sense.

There are two reasons why British and Continental students seldom agree about English Gothic art. One is that they have not always in view the same sets of examples. In Central France the Early Gothic style is represented by the great cathedral churches, and it is upon these that Viollet-le-Duc and his followers in different lands have formed their architectural creed. It is natural that the corresponding English monuments should be selected as, on their side, exhibiting the greatest triumphs of insular art, but this procedure is slightly misleading. Apart altogether from her cathedrals, Great Britain possesses a unique treasure in smaller mediæval buildings, both in the shape of parish churches and in that of subsidiary structures, porches, lady-chapels, chapter-houses, and the like, attached to the larger monuments. It is in these buildings that some of the best qualities of the English style are most in evidence, but they are qualities that require for their due appreciation a certain intimate loving companionship, hardly possible to any but dwellers in the land. The foreign student who takes special note only of the more pretentious edifices too often fails to become acquainted with what is really the flower of English mediæval art, and in consequence to understand the feelings of affection with which it is regarded in its island home.

Another reason is to be found in a characteristic habit of mind of the English in respect to artistic criticism, which goes far to explain why they cannot see eye to eye with their Conti-

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nental brethren. With their national genius for compromise, they are satisfied in art with an attractive general impression, and hesitate to apply the severer æsthetic canons. Intolerant, as a rule, of any discussion of principles, or, as they would term it, "theorizing," they put all their strength into the vivid presentment of personal conviction. Architectural judgment is not, however, a matter of individual taste and fancy. Every monumental building has behind it a programme; it was designed to answer to certain human needs, and at the same time to express civic, national, or religious ideals. It is, moreover, put together on a certain constructive system, which prescribes the general character of the forms employed. We have a right to demand accordance with the programme and with the system of construction; and a building out of harmony with these fails to this extent as a work of art. We are justified, too, in interrogating the more decorative parts of a composition as to the relation they bear to the structure. It is not enough if they merely look pleasing on a general view; their character and placing in connection with the whole are in their way just as important. Schnaase remarks that it is the essential problem of the architectural art to secure the reciprocal working of the principles of utility and of beauty. That the beauty of a building should be the outcome of its purpose and its system of construction is a golden sentence, that, like the moral maxims which shone in gilded lettering on the front of the temple at Delphi, should be carved over every architectural *chantier*. All this is signified by the useful term, much used in Germany, "tectonics." Tectonics includes the philosophy of construction in its artistic aspects, with the connection of decoration and structure. Schnaase, who expresses a mild surprise that no recognition of this last principle is to be discerned in the writings of John Ruskin, held that neither the mediæval builders nor the modern critics of England had any due appreciation of these tectonic principles. We may not subscribe to the censure; but there is this amount of truth in it, that the logical clearness and consistency which are such notable qualities in the greater churches of Central France are comparatively little seen in the corresponding insular structures, and are, as a rule, lightly esteemed by English artistic writers.

To take the larger churches first, the difference of the English cathedral from the French is so marked that the idea of affilia-

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ting the one to the other seems at first sight absurd. It is a difference in surroundings, in plan, and in general æsthetic effect, as well as in technical construction, and it largely depends on the fact that English cathedral churches, unlike those of France, are the outcome of a monastic tradition. The predominance of this tradition in mediæval England is a result of the early history of the land. Christianity was not introduced into Teutonized Britain until it had become permeated with the monastic idea. The missionary bishops in England were Celtic or Roman monks, and the establishments they made the centres of ecclesiastical life were monastic. Through all the changes of later mediæval times this character clung to the buildings and their surroundings; and the influence of it was so strong that even bishops' churches not served by monks, such as Salisbury or Wells, clothed themselves in a sort of monastic garb and adopted arrangements derived from the conventual system. This historical fact affected the buildings and their adjuncts.

The stranger who enters an old English cathedral city may follow the incoming country-folk to the market-place, and pass thence out to the fields again, without knowing any more of the proximity of a colossal church than is evidenced by the sound of a deep bell that tolls the hours from somewhere away behind the houses. To have to search for the cathedral in its own cathedral city strikes him as anomalous; but at last, along some narrow lane or passage, and through a gate in a wall of enceinte, he penetrates to a spacious grass-grown enclosure planted with trees and encompassed with ancient dwellings. In the midst from the greensward rise the gray minster walls, gathering as they pierce the leafage of embowering trees into towers and spires that catch the sunshine. Nestling under their shadow, and generally mantling the greater portion of one side, are antique structures —here a part in picturesque ruin, there one trimly ordered for modern habitation. All is peaceful, well-arranged and delightful to the eye, but it is a little world within a world, walled in from the contact of men in a sort of aristocratic seclusion.

But the great church of a French or Rhineland or Italian city is in full evidence, in the midst of busy streets, with the tide of life flowing all about it up to its very doors. In the early part of the century, when the older English water-color painters sketched their picturesque masses, the town churches sheltered

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the little cabins of the townsfolk, that were often crowded in between their very buttresses. Though they are now for the most part cleared, and stand free, save where joined by palace of bishop or metropolitan, and though new industrial or railway quarters may in recent years have shifted the centres of the densest population, yet they nearly always remain as they were from the very first, at the *foci* of the social life of the place. Wherever an ancient Roman enceinte can be traced, the bishop's church stands almost invariably within it. There the tiny predecessor of the vast cathedral of the Gothic age had been built, or adapted from a secular structure, by the first Christian missionary of the region, long before the religious life had taken the distinctly monastic form it had assumed by the seventh century. There the church has always remained, through successive rebuildings, the place of general resort for the burgesses at large.

This central, open and accessible aspect of the French cathedral prepares us to find the same character exhibited in its plan and arrangement. There is no doubt about its place and manner of entrance. The whole of the western end is composed for the effect of widely spreading portals that invite the throng, while the significant motives of their sculptural enrichment proclaim alike the meaning and the glory of the edifice. Within, the interior is spacious and lofty, offering the aspect of a single hall of oblong shape focussed at the farther end in the sanctuary where a special distinction and beauty in the parts about the altar lend the suggestion of an elaborate and sumptuous ritual. In striking contrast to this simple and emphatic effect, the English cathedral, entered as often as not by a side porch, offers to view a comparatively low but immensely long interior, which is very commonly divided into two portions, sometimes by a solid stone screen carrying an organ, so that it presents the appearance of two churches rather than one. The farther of these two divisions may be found to be a complete church by itself, cruciform in plan, with its own eastern transept independent of the main transept; the nearer division, the nave, serves at times as a sort of vestibule, or is used for service as if it were a separate building.

All these peculiarities of site and plan have a historical foundation. The English cathedral close is the enceinte of the monastery, the cloister often remains, the Dean inherits the old lodging of the Prior, and the members of the modern capitular body are

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housed in various portions of the monastic buildings. Canterbury, from the first a monastery of Roman type and metropolitan see in one; Gloucester, monastic till the Reformation, and not till after that a bishop's seat—are good examples of the conventual arrangement; but they hardly exhibit it better than the old secular, that is, non-monastic, foundation at Wells, or the new secular establishment set up on a fresh site in the thirteenth century at Salisbury. Of course, there have been considerable changes in and about many of these buildings between mediæval and modern times; but, as a fact, recent foundations apart, there is only one of the English cathedrals that is situated and surrounded in the central and open fashion normal on the Continent, and this is St. Paul's of London. Nearly all the rest have retained or acquired a distinctly conventual aspect. In respect to plan, the side porches, which in so many of the greater English churches supersede the normal western entrances of the Continent, are not monastic, but are a feature inherited from Saxon days. Forming by themselves interiors ample enough to serve for various purposes, ecclesiastical and secular, they had special functions in the oldest parish churches, from which the fashion of them may have spread to the larger edifices. For the prolonged eastern extension no other explanation is forthcoming than that it is monastic, rendered necessary by the large amount of space within the sanctuary required by the numerous members of a conventual body. While monastic in its *raison d'être,* such an extension was specially favored in England, and appears there for the first time on a large scale in the vast Norman choir of Canterbury, of the end of the eleventh century. It is hard to say why this scheme was adopted in English more than in Continental monastic churches, but it is true that the example of Canterbury was there so extensively followed that an insular stamp was set upon the plans of the greater English churches.

It will be readily admitted that the English cathedral close is one of the most effective bits of mediæval city landscape now surviving in Western Europe, and that the general exterior impression of the cathedral, due largely to the grouping of its towers and spires, corresponds to its beautiful surroundings. It is none the less true that this specializing of the greater English church to fit a particular society within the Christian community, meant its surrender of a good deal of the fine architectural character

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which was preserved in the normal type of the bishop's church of the Continent. This type retained the essential features of the earliest form of the building, when it was designed to carry out as simply and directly as possible the programme of the Christian meeting-place. This house of meeting, the so-called "basilica," of the days of Constantine and Theodosius, though a structure of the utmost architectural plainness, was nobly expressive in its spaciousness and its accentuation alike of the entrance and of the sanctuary, where, within the apse, the altar and the bishop's chair, commanding the vast interior down to the doors, made a unity of the whole. To treat the entrance end as a mere decorative screen and ignore its function as the place of congregational access, to lengthen out the interior and divide it so that unity of impression and the dominant position of the altar are lost, imply a break with the Christian tradition and a consequent loss not made up for by added picturesqueness of general effect.

If, in the normal English cathedral, this exaggerated length and this treatment of the western end are inorganic, not the natural, sincere expression of the main function of the structure, in a similar way there is a certain looseness in the relation of the parts and features to the system of construction which contravenes those stricter tectonic principles already noticed. This is not the place in which systems of architectural construction can be fully discussed, but the comparative æsthetics of French and English Gothic churches depend too closely on structural considerations for these to be altogether passed over.

In order to form a general idea of what is implied in the constructive development of Christian architecture, the reader who has visited Beauvais may compare in thought the so-called "*Basse-Œuvre*," the original nave of the cathedral of the ninth or tenth century, with the thirteenth-century choir which represents the most daring aspiration of the French Gothic genius. From the *Basse-Œuvre* may be judged the effect of the Early Christian meeting-house in a comparatively primitive form. It is a plain rectangular hall with flat continuous wall-spaces pierced below by arched openings giving access to side aisles. There are windows in the upper section of the walls and a wooden roof, while the only architectural feature, the apse (not preserved at Beauvais), comes just where it is needed to emphasize the spot on which the attention of all within the building will be riveted.

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The whole after-course of the development of Christian architecture had for its unconscious aim the breaking up of this primitive simplicity and the "membering," to use an ugly but convenient word, of the whole structure, till, as in Beauvais choir, it was minutely subdivided into a series of definitely-shaped parts, organically related, and expressing such relation in their form and details. For this to be completely carried out, it was necessary to get rid of the wooden roof; for, while that remained, the sharp contrast between walls and ceiling broke the harmony. The introduction of stone vaulting in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by supplying a roof of the same material as the walls, and with its own divisions in close structural relation to the sections or "bays" into which these were already broken up, rendered possible the perfecting of the system aimed at. The introduction of a new constructive element complicated the solution, though without altering its principle. This element is the lateral pressure of the vault, which had to be met by resistance at the flanks instead of merely by a support beneath it, which would have sufficed had the weight pressed simply downwards.

The French Gothic builders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the logical faculty of their race, made the whole subdivision of their structures depend on the mechanical properties of their stone roofs, and, following these out to their extreme consequences, they evolved from them that special mode of construction which is analyzed fully in Viollet-le-Duc's "*Dictionnaire*" and more recently in Mr. Moore's work on "Gothic Architecture." This furnishes to the general history of tectonics a chapter of fascinating interest, but it is a mistake to extol it as if Gothic architecture depended on this and this alone, while every phase of the art that does not carry this system to like extremes should be struck off the roll as not Gothic at all. The writer last mentioned confines the use of the term "Gothic" to the work of France; construction there is "Gothic"; in England, Germany, and other countries it is only "pointed." Gothic is, of course, a mere name with no intrinsic significance; but it has come to be generally applied to a certain historical phase of the architecture of Western Europe. Is there any good reason for altering this accepted use of language? Mr. Moore's book does not give us one. To dwell exclusively on the one main point of difference between French work and that of the rest of Europe,

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its far greater constructive logic, is to put out of sight the many other characteristics of the style in which all the phases of it agree, and at the same time to go dangerously near assigning æsthetic value to what is mere mechanical ingenuity. Between "Gothic" construction and "pointed" there is only a question of degree. The general principle of vaulted construction was not invented by the Gothic builders. Every vaulted interior of the Romanesque epoch is an endeavor to realize this unconsciously preserved ideal of mediæval building, and one of the most successful is to be found in the English Durham. There the divisions and subdivisions are, on the whole, logically maintained, and the eye is led upwards from the floor to the vault with a satisfying assurance of an organic relation of part to part throughout the structure. The wall still maintains its original function as the bounding and sustaining member of the fabric; but it is laterally strengthened by external pilasters and by flying arches beneath the roof of the galleries over the aisles, so as to resist the outward pressure of the ribbed stone vaults that cover every part of the great interior. The system is much simpler, but for the purpose in hand not less efficient, than the French Gothic scheme. In this the wall as such disappears, or, rather, it is divided vertically into sections, and each section is wheeled round till it is at right angles to its original position, becoming the pier which gives off the arches that buttress the vault, the spaces left void being filled in by screens of colored glass.

This scheme, though regarded in some quarters as the perfection of the architectural art, is by no means beyond criticism. The author of "Gothic Architecture" writes of "that wonderful system of flying buttresses that reveals so much of the distinctive character of Gothic art," and he even regrets that it should be concealed by the towers in the western view of the building. For our part, we hold it one of the great advantages of the western towers that they do conceal from sight expedients so forced as the multiplex flying arches, which led Gottfried Semper to compare a Gothic choir like Le Mans to a sick giant with a crowd of satellites about him to hold him up. On the exterior view, the labor seems thrown away, as the eye can detect no constructive necessity for such a complex arrangement of supports. It is true that, when we analyze the whole structure, we see clearly enough that the expedient was adopted in order to secure the in-

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terior effect of the building. Height was intended there to be a prominent factor in the impression, and to support a stone vault, at the altitude of those at Amiens or Beauvais, something more, no doubt, was needed than the more simply buttressed walls of Durham. The system of pier and flying arch answered the mechanical demand, and, though in itself artistically objectionable, was accepted as the only means available for securing the immense æsthetic advantage of the lofty interior vault. As such, we also must make the best of it, though there will still remain the practical objection recently noticed by M. Corroyer, who points out that it is unsound building economics to expose so freely to the disintegrating action of the weather the features most essential to the stability of the structure. In some of the finest of the early French Gothic churches there are defects of logic in the way these buttresses are made to work; while in certain interiors, such as Paris and Laon, we find perpetuated the Early Christian solecism of round classical columns instead of piers in the nave arcades, which render it impossible to carry out the strict scheme of the structure by connecting the upper stories obviously with the lower, and bringing the supports of the vault in this way firmly to the ground.

It is well to take note of considerations like these, as they show that even in French work logical consistency is only a relative term; they need not, on the other hand, interfere in our minds with the general æsthetic effect of the monuments. On the whole, the French Gothic interior must be acknowledged as one of the world's greatest triumphs in the building art. With magnificent height and airiness is combined the effect of a reasoned disposition of the parts both structural and ornamental, and the eye is satisfied as with the exterior of a Greek Doric temple or with an Attic vase. The English interior makes no attempt at this effect of loftiness, and accordingly the wall in its normal use remains in Gothic what it was in the earlier Norman, the supporting member of the vault as well as the lateral enclosure. The English work is not nearly so bold nor so æsthetically noble in expression, but on its more modest scale it is as much Gothic as the other. It must not be forgotten also that though the comparative lowness of English buildings deprives them of this glorious internal impressiveness, it acts in the other direction on the exterior view. The manageable height of the main fabric makes it possible to

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carry out the towers and spires in their full proportions, whereas in a building like Amiens these would have needed to be of gigantic elevation, and as a matter of fact they were never actually completed. On the composition of the towers and spires depends to a great extent the fine external effect of such English churches as Lincoln or Lichfield or Salisbury, and this must be set down to the credit of the insular scheme of construction.

On the other hand, though English Gothic builders were not bound to carry the mechanical principles of vaulted construction to their logical extremes, they had no justification for treating cavalierly and with something like frivolity the tectonic problems of their art. It was the constant and legitimate ambition of mediæval builders to cover their greater churches with vaults of stone; but, till the later Gothic period, when specially insular forms of the vault came into vogue and even influenced Continental designers, the English constructors were in the main curiously indifferent to the feature, and even fell behind the Scots, who made a much more ready use of the stone roof than the southern English. To the listlessness of the latter in this department is probably due the ultimate triumph in England of the square east end over the apse. It is as likely as not that the determining factor in this elimination of the apse was the reluctance to go to the trouble of vaulting it. The existing Saxon apses are not vaulted, and the great Norman churches of Peterborough and Norwich, that have retained their original circular ends, similarly lack the semi-dome of masonry. It may have been felt that it was better to have no apse at all than one tamely ceiled with wooden planking. As mediæval architecture generally had been working in the direction of the vault, this aloofness of the English puts their buildings out of the main current in construction as well as planning, and is a distinct note of inferiority.

It is in these connections that the dispassionate reader will find Mr. Prior's work least satisfactory. He is disposed to represent each deviation of English design from the main course of constructional and artistic development as a new æsthetic discovery, a fresh flash of genius from the inexhaustible fire of the insular imagination. Just as he accepts a west front that, like Wells, is a mere screen, and not the expression of the purpose and form of the building to which it introduces us, so he is content, not only in Romanesque buildings like Peterborough, but in the more

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advanced Gothic, to give up the stone vault, as in Hexham transepts, or to accept contentedly an imitation in wood, as at York. The absence of an organic relation of the vault to the lower part of the structure does not offend him, and he allows it to attach itself in a somewhat inchoate fashion to the upper part of the wall, as at Salisbury. Even the square east end, though it involves the sacrifice of the most beautiful and expressive feature of the Christian interior, he treats in more than one place as if it were really an improvement on the apsidal termination. There is a certain parade of insularity about some of these judgments that does not really help the cause which the writer has at heart. With all the more pleasure will the reader turn to those parts of his book that deal with features of British art for which there can be nothing but praise.

It has been acknowledged that, in some of the more important features of general scheme and construction, the greater English churches are inferior to the corresponding monuments of France. The smaller buildings, on the other hand, possess a charm, a piquancy, that are all their own, and that make them one of the most fascinating studies in the whole history of the arts. It is curious that many of their excellencies are due to a just tectonic instinct, which in small matters guided English craftsmen to the best artistic results, though it failed them at times on the larger scale. The relation of the ornament to the structure is generally beyond reproach, and the æsthetic charm is largely due to the tact by which the different features are allowed, so to say, to interpenetrate without interfering with each other. They are started and stopped in the most unexpected and yet natural fashion; they are sent off and finished with a touch of enrichment in corbel or return, while the carver delights in small variations that break formal symmetry and give a human, personal, look to the whole.

Such a piece of design as the north porch of Wells represents in its crispness and refined though nervous strength an early crystallization of many of the best elements of the English style. How well the plainness of the pointed arcade of the sedilia below sets off the delicate richness of the foliage caps and intersecting mouldings of the upper arcade! The chevron ornament and the square abacus link the work with the older Romanesque, but what a reaction against the soft rotundity of the profuse late Norman forms is there in the slender clustered shafts, the deep-cut

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hollows, the sharp-edged fillets. The foliage still shows the crockets exercising their function of supporting in classical fashion the corners of the abacus, but here and there they break away in looser curls, and do their work with a kind of mirthful waywardness that fills the little hall with life. In the carving a few grotesque animal forms survive from earlier art, and in another part of the porch there are dainty Gothic figures—a St. Sebastian on one cap, with archers on caps to right and left shooting at him. This enrichment of figure, animal and foliage motives relieves the severe parallelism of the shafts and mouldings, and supplies to the composition the element of freedom and of play.

The charm of English mediæval art is, however, felt most perfectly in the country churches, which were essentially domestic institutions, corresponding to the needs and the ideals of the people at large. There may be something chilling in the gates and battlements that guard the access to the once monastic cathedral, but the village church, though in most cases aristocratic in its origin, has always been associated with the daily life of the rural population.

This intimate connection of the village shrine with the common life of the locality was emphasized at every epoch and in every possible form of art. The amount of architectural pretension in the building was, to begin with, in just accordance with its size and character. Some of the smaller buildings with which we are now dealing are adjuncts to the greater edifices, as were lady-chapels and chapter-houses, and these are commonly stone-vaulted in correspondence with the monumental character of the cathedral or abbey church; but the parish churches are very rarely covered with vaults of stone. Are not the wooden roofs, it may be asked, a stamp of inferiority, when we compare the English churches with those of a similar class in France, where, as Professor Freeman remarks, the stone vault is common and "a wooden roof, wherever there is one, is a mere shift"? There are considerations which put the matter in another light. If we turn for a moment from Gothic to classical architecture, we note that certain small temples, like that of Niké Apteros by the ascent to the Acropolis at Athens, are without the outer ring of columns which is normal in the greater buildings. In a monument like the Parthenon, this peripteral colonnade is the main feature of architectural effect and could on no account be spared. When the scale of the structure, however, was considerably reduced, the

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outer ring of columns was omitted, and by this simplification of the forms any look of *petitesse* was avoided. A structure fully equipped in all its parts, but with all these far below the normal size, would look toylike, and this the Greeks would not tolerate. So, too, a cathedral, similarly reduced without modification of forms, is open to the same objection. The writer last quoted remarks of the smaller churches of France that they commonly (not always) reproduce the minster on a small scale. This is not what is wanted in a village church, which should rather wear a domestic every-day aspect. It is to be noted that English examples that are too elaborate in structure or in plan, like the famous Patrington in Yorkshire, seem a little out of harmony with the programme of this class of building.

The unpretending fabric in its more typical forms, as we find it in thousands of instances in the English counties, has a way of blossoming out into unexpected devices of structure and sudden bursts of ornament, that are an inexhaustible source of delight to the artistic eye. The fittings and furniture, with which in pre-Reformation days the buildings were filled, have, of course, only come down to us in small fragments, but the work in them is so varied, and weds so cunningly the useful with the lovely, that it is at once the delight and the despair of the modern decorative designer. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is scarcely an old church, in all the districts of England, that has not in or about it some unique feature, some peculiarity of construction, fitting, or enrichment, which will not easily be found elsewhere. The beautiful fragments of this artistic craftsmanship are so numerous and have to be sought so far afield that justice has never yet been done to the subject in critical writings. Mr. Prior, when he takes leave of his readers, has no more effective *envoi* than to point to the village churches of England and indicate the extent and interest of the artistic material they enshrine. We cannot do better than terminate this article with a sentence from his volume:

> "The varying applications of this art in the solid, homely sense of English life can be read in the make of our parish churches; and so we ought to study them, countryside by countryside, noting their fancies and their shifts, their love and their simplicity, and praising the fathers that begat us."

G. BALDWIN BROWN.

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ITALY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD HER EMIGRANTS.

BY DR. GUSTAVO TOSTI, ACTING CONSUL-GENERAL OF ITALY IN NEW YORK.

I.

THE recently published report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration has given renewed impetus to the discussion, which has of late engaged public attention, of the question how to deal with foreign immigration. It may be fairly assumed that Mr. Sargent's report will, by its general trend and through certain statements it contains, afford a strong argument to those who still advocate a restrictive policy, in order to lessen the evils resulting to this country from the constant influx of certain specific foreign elements, which seem particularly obnoxious to the cultivated American of the day. I do not propose, nor have I any authority, to enter into the general discussion of the immigration problem. That is a question which concerns the American nation, and it would be entirely out of my province to express any opinion on the subject, in my official capacity as representative of the Italian Government in New York City. But there is one important aspect of Mr. Sargent's remarkable argument which seems properly to call for a word of explanation on my part. I refer to the chapters on "Inducements to Immigration" and "Naturalization and Distribution," on pages 43 and 44 of the report. Mr. Sargent contends (p. 44) that "one at least of the reasons for the existence of alien colonies in the United States," which is "the cause of the chief dangers to be apprehended from the enormous immigration of aliens," is that certain foreign governments are actively engaged in trying (p. 43):

> "to colonize their subjects who come to this country for the purpose of maintaining in them a love of their mother country. This was accomplished through agents of the home government and church sent here to

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keep them from imbibing a knowledge of, and affection for, the institutions of the United States, which might, and probably would, result in their purchase of homes here and final expatriation from their own country. That result meant a permanent loss to those countries of the allegiance and usefulness of such of their subjects as adopt our views and become American citizens, as well as loss of the enormous aggregate revenue sent back annually by those who cherish the intent of ultimately returning, buying homes and living on the proceeds of their savings."

He says further on (p. 45):

"Those foreign countries where the labors of the ever-active transportation agent have been most effective in diminishing native population have become alarmed, and have made futile attempts to check an exodus which threatens to seriously impair their self-supporting capacity. Failing in this, they have taken the next possible step, that of minimizing the evil, and, if possible, of turning it to their advantage in the long run. Hence all the political and social, and occasionally the religious, resources of these countries are being directed to one end—to *maintain colonies of their own people in this country*, instructing them through various channels to maintain their allegiance to the countries of their birth, to transmit their earnings here to the fatherland for the purchase of ultimate homes there, and *to avoid all intercourse with the people of this country that would tend to the permanent adoption of American ideals*."*

These charges, as an able student of the problem remarks, "are serious indeed and cannot be too plainly substantiated, if made at all."† As to the countries concerned, we are logically brought to the conclusion that they are two: Austria-Hungary and Italy. In fact, as the same critic remarks, "the countries of northwestern Europe are not in question, as immigration from them is light, and there are no dense colonies of their people to hold together. Russia is so situated toward her immigration that she could not, if she would, influence them sufficiently to hold them in colonies. There are left then, Austria-Hungary and Italy."

An additional proof that Italy is really involved in Mr. Sargent's charges is that, on page 45 of his interesting report, he mentions, among the evils resulting from the tremendous increase and racial character of foreign immigration, "the introduction into this free country of such hideous and terrifying fruits of long-continued oppression as the mafia, the vendetta, black

* The italics are mine.—G. T.

† Kate Holladay Claghorn, "Immigration for 1904," in "Charities," February 4th, 1905, p. 455.

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hand. . . ." This reference to the mafia, etc., obviously suffices to show that the Italian Government is one of those which, in the mind of the Commissioner-General, pursue the line of policy deprecated by him.

II.

First of all, it behooves us to correct an erroneous impression, which seems to dominate in certain quarters, as to the scope and meaning of the Italian Emigration Law, of January 31st, 1901. There is no provision in that law which might, with any fairness, be construed as an attempt to exploit emigration by turning it to the advantage of the mother country. The law accepts the fact of emigration as something determined by causes which are deeply rooted in the social and economic conditions of the country, and which are entirely beyond the reach of empirical measures, directed to favor or to restrict the exodus. The law merely proposes to solve a problem which is specifically forced upon the Italian Government, *i. e.*, the problem of insuring the most efficient protection to the emigrant against all possible wrongs and abuses. It is primarily and fundamentally a *social* law, that is, a law destined to serve the ends of *social* justice by affording an instrument of defence to those classes which are unable to protect themselves against the various forms of social parasitism.

That it never was the intention of the law to favor emigration is conclusively shown by Section 17, through which "Carriers"—*i. e.* Steamship Companies and their representatives—"are forbidden to persuade people to emigrate." The same section of the law specifically recalls a provision of the Penal Code by which inducement to emigration, based on the circulation of news and statements concerning alleged conditions abroad, is considered a misdemeanor and punished accordingly. This section of the law is supplemented by Section 31, by which a fine of 1,000 lire is imposed upon the Carrier (Steamship Company) who "shall introduce between himself and the emigrant any middleman who shall not be his own representative." The same penalty is by the same section of the law imposed upon the "Carrier," or his representative, "who shall pass off as spontaneous emigrants, having paid their own passage, any parties who shall in fact travel at the expense, total or partial, of any foreign government or private enterprise," such fine to be increased to 2,000 lire in case of recurrence. It is clear that the law has aimed at elimi-

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nating the possibility of any artificial attempt to favor or facilitate emigration. Under the above-mentioned provisions of our law, it is difficult to conceive the possibility of the abuses denounced in the report of the Commissioner-General, through which "violations of our [American] laws, particularly of those that are directed against aliens under agreement to work here, continuously occur" (p. 43). The business of inducing emigration to this or to any other country is considered an illegal one in Italy; and, therefore, the statement that "certain foreign countries are actively engaged in it" cannot possibly apply to Italy.

The above-mentioned provisions against any form of soliciting in connection with emigration are completed by others concerning the emigration of women and children. Section 2 forbids the emigration of children under fifteen years of age, unless they have undergone a medical examination and have been granted a special permission by the local authorities, in accordance with the provisions of the Children's Employment Act. Section 3 punishes with imprisonment at hard labor up to six months, and a fine from 100 to 500 lire, "any one who shall enlist, or receive in his care in the kingdom, one or more children under fifteen years of age, with a view to employing them abroad," in unhealthy and harmful occupations. The same penalty applies to those "who send abroad, or deliver to third parties to be taken abroad, children under fifteen years of age with a view to employing them as above." In such cases, the father or guardian shall be deprived of his powers. The same penalties apply to "any one who shall induce a woman not of age to emigrate with a view to prostituting her." That the law never aimed at facilitating the dumping of paupers in foreign countries is proven by section 25, by which provision is made for the return home of indigent Italians, at the expense of the Steamship Companies, and at the rate of 10 adults per 1,000 tons register, and one for every further 200 tons or fractional 200 tons above 1,000.

But, apart from the above considerations, the mere reading of the headings of the law suffices to show that its sole aim is to assist the emigrant during the voyage, and see that he be well taken care of by the Steamship Company.

Previous to the passing of our law, emigrants were piled up like cattle in unsanitary conditions, on board of steamers which very often left much to be desired in point of safety, comfort and

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decency. It was our plain duty to care in that way for the hundreds of thousands of our countrymen who go abroad to work. The following is the list of the Chapters of the By-Laws issued for the enforcement of the Emigration Act:

Part I.—Emigration in general.
Part II.—The Emigration Service.
Part III.—Carriers and Emigrants.
Part IV.—Transportation of Emigrants.
1.—Seaworthiness, speed and equipment of emigrant steamers.
2.—Internal organization of steamers.
3.—Sanitary service on board.
4.—Supply and distribution of victuals.
5.—Examination of steamers.
6.—Examination of emigrants previous to their sailing.
7.—Supervision on board.
8.—Special provisions.
Part V.—Emigration fund.
Part VI.—General provisions for the enforcement of the Law.

This shows plainly that, aside from a few sections, dealing with the general question of emigration or with the organization of the emigration service, the bulk of the regulations concerns the condition of emigrants during their voyage.

III.

Mr. Sargent calls attention to the congestion of emigrants in the cities and the existence of alien colonies, which are by him assumed to be largely due to the action of the foreign Governments concerned. As to Italy, it suffices to recall that, as far back as December, 1901—that is, at the time when the great influx of Italian immigration was beginning to take place—I published a paper, in the "Monthly Bulletin" of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York, calling attention to the dangers resulting from the overcrowding of our immigrants in the city tenements under unhealthy surroundings. In that article, I advocated strongly the formation of a powerful Land Corporation for the purpose of favoring the agricultural distribution of our immigrants. My article was reproduced in some of the leading newspapers and magazines in Italy. It was followed in May, 1904, by another article published in the Italian number of "Charities," over my official signature. In the latter ("The Agricultural Possibilities of Italian Immigration"), I took up again the

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subject of urban congestion, emphasizing the necessity of organizing agricultural Italian colonies in the Southern States, where conditions, climatic and others, seemed to be most favorable. On December 29th last, I published a long article in one of the leading Italian newspapers of this city, "*L'Araldo Italiano*," discussing at length the same question, and again concluding in favor of a wider distribution of our immigrants in the agricultural districts. In this article, as also in a number of public speeches, delivered on various occasions, I advocated, in unmistakable terms, the Americanization of our immigrants, strongly opposing the constitution of "alien" colonies, such as those which Mr. Sargent justly deprecates. Perhaps it may not be amiss to reproduce certain statements contained in the last-named publication, which are of a nature to show exactly the trend of thought dominating the action of the official representatives of Italy in this country. I wrote in part:

"The transformation of our immigrants into owners of land is sometimes opposed on the ground that it would gradually lead to their denationalization. We are thus confronted by a sort of nationalistic obsession. . . . It is evident that the more active the participation of our immigrants in the life of their adopted country, political and otherwise, the wider will be the field of action offered them. The alien colony is bound to be hampered by unavoidable limitations in its possibilities of life and action. In a group materially separated from the country of origin, and yet kept deliberately apart from any intimate contact with the country of adoption, all the originary racial deficiencies cannot but be intensified through the action of a well-known psychological law. The colonialistic conception ends in an imitation or caricature of the type of civilization represented by the mother country. And against this form of nationalism, narrow-minded, intolerant and fanatic, we cannot protest with sufficient energy in the interest of our emigration. The conception of enforced exoticism must be replaced by that of a free and unhampered fusion of the immigrant with the indigenous element."

IV.

On the evidence thus submitted, it is difficult not to see that the efforts of the official representative of Italy in New York—that is, in the most important place of landing of our immigrants,—have been persistently and systematically directed toward the attainment of the very ends which the Commissioner-General has in view. The agricultural distribution of the newcomers, the gradual and natural disintegration of the so-called "alien"

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colonies and the blending of their members with the communities in which they have established their new home, such are the corner-stones of a programme which has been asserted on every occasion and with every means at our disposal. It is hardly necessary to point out that this line of action was in perfect harmony with the general policy pursued by the Italian Government concerning the immigration problem. A most striking proof of this is afforded by the fact that, when Signor Adolfo Rossi, a member of the Italian Department of Emigration, was sent here last winter to make a thorough study of the question, the first object to which his attention was directed by his Government was the overcrowding of immigrants in the cities, and the means to favor their agricultural distribution. If the central idea of our law is to leave emigration entirely free from any attempt at artificial inflation, and merely to perform in regard to the individual emigrant certain specific duties of help and assistance, the central idea of our policy concerning the Italian emigration to this country must necessarily be to let the assimilation of our immigrants go on unhampered. By pursuing that policy, we will assist our immigration in becoming an active factor in the life of this great country.

GUSTAVO TOSTI.

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AN ANCIENT READING OF FINGER-PRINTS.

BY LOUIS ROBINSON, M.D.

SINCE Francis Galton published his classic work on Finger-Prints in 1892, every one has become more or less familiar with the curious scroll-like patterns made by covering the front surface of the fingers with printer's ink and then pressing them on paper. At the present time they are attracting a great deal of attention among the police authorities, all over the world, as a means of establishing personal identity beyond dispute. In fact, this branch of anthropological study may be said, for the time being, to have passed out of the hands of men of science into those of the investigators of crime.

I hope, however, in the ensuing pages, to show that Science has not said her last word about finger-prints: and, moreover, that inferences bearing on the psychic side of human nature are to be drawn from a close scrutiny of their curved linear markings quite other than those grossly practical inferences drawn by the gaoler and the detective.

Galton aptly compares the tiny ridges upon the fingers, which reveal themselves in the prints, to ripples left upon the sand by wind or running-water. He gives a most exhaustive analysis of their arrangement, and proves that they are permanent throughout life. His technical instructions as to the best method of obtaining the prints appear to be equally exhaustive; for, in giving the composition of various inks which may be employed for the purpose, he includes one made use of by the present writer when recording a newly born infant's footprints with such materials as he chanced to find in a pauper's tenement at midnight, viz., lamp-soot, ink, soap, and syrup. But, in discussing the true natural history of the minute ridges upon the fingers, Galton goes no further than did the first physiologist of note who drew

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attention to their presence. This was Dr. Nehemiah Grew, an almost forgotten worthy, who gave an account of his observations in a paper read before The Royal Society in the year 1684. Oddly enough, Galton, whose paper on "Patterns in Thumb and Finger Marks" came before the same august body just 207 years later, appears never to have heard of the observations of Nehemiah Grew, which are still to be found in the Society's Proceedings. At any rate, in tracing the history of finger-study, Galton goes back no further than Purkenje, of Breslau, whose thesis dealing with the minute patterns on the fingers was published in 1823.

Nehemiah Grew, who was the son of Obadiah Grew, an eminent Puritan divine, was elected Secretary of the Royal Society in 1671, and probably held that coveted position at the time when the essay above alluded to was read. He was by no means the least notable of that band of eager students of science, who made the reign of King Charles II almost as much a time of scientific awakening as the Italian Renaissance was a time of artistic awakening. Probably, the discoveries of the illustrious William Harvey, who first revealed the truth as to the circulation of the blood, had a great deal to do with arousing this new interest in the wonders of nature. Nehemiah Grew was born in 1641, a few months before Sir Isaac Newton, and among his contemporaries were Harvey; Leuwenhoek, the pioneer with the microscope; Edward Tyson, who first dissected a chimpanzee, and published his results under the title, "The Anatomie of a Pygmie"; Sir Hans Sloane; Leibnitz; Halley the astronomer; Dr. Sydenham, one of the greatest reformers in Medicine; and Sir Thomas Browne, the gentle philosopher of Norwich, whose words quoted from the "Religio Medici,"

> "Search where thou wilt, and let thy Wisdom go,
> To ransom Truth, e'en to the Abyss below.
> Rally the scattered causes, and the line
> Which Nature twists be able to untwine,"

give admirable proof that the true scientific spirit animated the men of this seventeenth-century renaissance.

Nehemiah Grew, in his paper "On the Pores in the Skin of the Hands and Feet," says:

"If any one will but take the pains, with an indifferent glass, to survey the palms of his hands, very well washed with a ball, he may

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perceive innumerable little ridges, of equal size and distance, and everywhere running parallel to each other. And especially on the ends and first joints of the fingers and thumb, on the top of the ball, and near the root of the thumb a little above the wrist. In all which places, they are very regularly disposed into spherical triangles and ellipses. On these ridges stand the pores, all in even rows, and of such a magnitude as to be visible to a good eye without a glass. But, being viewed with one, every pore looks like a little fountain, and the sweat may be seen to stand therein as clear as rock-water, and as often as it is wiped off, to spring up within them again.

"What Nature intends in the position of these ridges is, that they may the better suit with the use and motion of the hand. . . . On the ridges, the pores are very providently placed, and not in the furrows which lie between them: that so their structure might be the stronger, and less liable to be depraved by compression. . . . For the same reason, the pores are also very large, that they may still be the better preserved, though the skin be ever so much compressed and condensed by the constant use and labor of the hand."

This quaint and graphic description (which, by the way, gives us a rather startling insight as to the average state of cleanliness among *savants* during that godly age, seeing that the details of the skin were presumed to remain invisible until the hands had been "very well washed with a ball") may enable us to read new meanings in finger-prints when subjected to a close scrutiny.

When magnified three or four diameters, the lines are found to bear a curious resemblance to blurred lines of print. This is owing to the fact that the cuplike pores, to which Dr. Nehemiah Grew draws attention, almost break the continuity of the lines, giving them somewhat the appearance of a series of letters and words which have partly run together.

It will be seen that he accounts for the existence of the minute ridges by reference to the protection which these give to the openings of the sweat-glands. Galton seems to have arrived at almost the same conclusion, for he says:

"The uses of the ridges are primarily, as I suppose, to raise the mouths of the ducts, so that the excretions which they pour out may the more easily be got rid of; and, also, in some obscure way, to assist the sense of touch."

Galton also draws attention to the fact, that the ridges show most upon hands subjected to friction. They are, in fact, much more pronounced in the horny-handed "knight of labor" than in those lighter-fingered "*chevaliers d'industrie*" in whose finger-

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marks certain official students of Galton's new science take such a strenuous interest. Now, this fact, together with certain others to which attention was drawn by Galton—viz., that the ridges are very prominent on the hands of all apes, and also upon the naked under surface of the prehensile tails of South-American monkeys —should suffice to afford a simpler and more correct explanation of their primary use and origin. That the ridges appear most plainly where the skin is thickened by use is *prima facie* evidence that they are needed more in such spots than elsewhere.

We have continually to go back to the arboreal stage of man's existence in order to account for certain peculiarities in his anatomical structure; and, when the peculiarity in question is one which he still shares with the apes, strong proofs exist that it was evolved to meet the needs of a life among the high branches. Now, it is somewhat strange that, among the reasons given by learned physiologists for the existence of the filelike ridges on the hands and fingers, their very obvious use in giving a better grip seems to have been ignored. That such was their chief function during man's early history there can be very little doubt, for, although, as Galton suggests, they may also aid in giving a discriminating sense of touch, this appears quite insufficient to account for their distribution. Nor is such a function obsolete at the present day. Any one who has had his finger-ends temporarily worn smooth (as by rubbing with pumice-stone) knows how much their power of holding small and slippery objects, such as needles and fine scientific instruments, is decreased. In fact, the system of serried ridges on the hand gives us a security of hold such as does the artificial roughening on the haft of a knife.

Moreover, it is not difficult to show that both the presence of the sweat-glands and their position on the ridges are exactly calculated to secure a like end. Their main function becomes obvious enough when one considers the sudden demand for (and supply of) adventitious moisture shown by every workman when he wishes to get a good grip of his tools. It is noteworthy that the perspiration from the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet is quite free from that greasy element which characterizes the exudations of the skin glands over the rest of the body. It is, as Dr. Nehemiah Grew pointed out, "as clear as rock-water."

Now let us consider in what way moistening the hands tends

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to increase their grip. It immediately calls to the aid of the flexor muscles one of the great forces of nature, viz., the pressure of the atmosphere. Every one knows the clinging power of a piece of wet rubber or leather tightly pressed against some smooth surface. Among the lower orders of creatures, especially among the aquatic molluscs, this aid in maintaining a hold is secured by various elaborate means. Among insects it is very common, but appears to be enhanced in some cases by a sticky exudation from the feet. Some of the lower vertebrates, such as tree-frogs and gecko lizards, have little suckers upon their finger-tips, and can walk up a pane of glass almost as well as a fly. Among mammals, such a gift is rare, although several of the lemuroid group possess it to a certain extent.

Marvellous to relate, one of the most flylike among the higher mammals in this respect appears to be the hippopotamus, the soles of whose feet, at birth, are soft and cuplike, thus enabling the little creature to cling securely by "suction" to the smooth, wet surface of its dam's back, as she plunges about in the African rivers.

It is plain, of course, that in the human hand atmospheric pressure can be nothing like so effective as in the case of the holding organs of any of these creatures. The very ridges themselves, with their intervening valleys, would prevent a total exclusion of the air. But for this apparent defect there is a very good reason. Not only does the hand of a man, or ape, require to grip tightly; it must also let go quickly. Otherwise, among our humble relations who live in the trees, rapid movements from branch to branch would be impossible. In fact, it appears to be a general rule that all true sucker-footed creatures (insects excepted) are sluggish and deliberate in their movements, because it takes time to readmit the air and so release the limb.

A simian or human hand, when wet, and closely applied to a moderately smooth surface, must be regarded as a multitude of tiny suckers rather than one large one. It gains the advantage of atmospheric pressure chiefly on the flattened-out ridges, with their myriads of minute cuplike pores (each of which, being wet with perspiration, is a perfect little sucker), while the gripping muscles are in strong action. The moment these relax, the air finds its way back again along the intervening furrows, so that the hand can be moved without the least difficulty.

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Confining our attention for the moment to apes and monkeys—whose palmar and plantar ridges are covered with sweat-pores exactly like our own—let us consider whether there is any special provision for meeting those emergencies when a secure grip is of supreme importance. Now, it appears to be an almost universal rule among wild creatures that rapid and violent movements are never made except under the influence of excitement. Among predatory animals, it may be the excitement of pursuit; but, in the case of the great majority, fear is the chief cause of rapid movements. An apparent exception exists in the case of young creatures at play; but, even here, the emotions are usually deeply stirred, for a child playing at hide-and-seek will await capture with beating heart and trembling limbs.

Now, in all works on the expression of the emotions, the fact is pointed out that sweat breaks out freely on the skin under the influence of extreme fear. But neither Darwin, nor any other writer whom I have consulted, alludes to the well-known fact that, in certain milder phases of this emotion, it is *the hands and feet* which perspire, while the rest of the body remains comparatively unaffected. It is plain that, since a wet hand gives a safer hold than a dry one, any terror-stricken ape in danger of falling from the trees would gain by this automatic association between the palmar sweat-glands and the emotion of fear. Here let me suggest that our curious inbred fear of falling, and also those "*falling* dreams" which every one experiences, may be relics of those times when a fall (in the physical sense) was the chief danger which threatened our remote ancestors—a danger which had to be guarded against by unremitting vigilance. Most people on seeing some one who seems to be in danger of falling—such as a workman at the edge of a high roof or scaffold—feel a tingling and moisture of the palms and soles, together with a tendency for the fingers and toes to curl downwards, as if trying to secure a firm hold. That the higher apes manifest a kindred sympathy for a fellow creature in like peril, I learned some years ago, when studying the ways of a young chimpanzee exhibited at the Westminster Aquarium. While a trapeze performance was going on, the little creature watched the daring evolutions of the gymnasts with anxious eyes and clutching fingers, and its agitation became painfully intense when one performer (a girl) ascended to the high roof and dived head foremost into a net. I repeatedly

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noticed that its hands were wet with perspiration when excited in this way, but did not at the time discern the meaning of the phenomenon. As the performer dropped out of sight of the ape (which was behind a screen), before one heard the "smack" of her contact with the canvas-covered net, the nebulous mind of the sympathetic little beast probably interpreted the last act as a fearful tragedy. At any rate, there was evidence that it had an intuitive knowledge of the danger accompanying a fall from a height, otherwise one cannot account for the real agitation and distress which it exhibited.

Now, there can be no doubt that, when we are considering the nervous mechanism of emotion, we must go very far back indeed in our ancestral history to account for commonly observed facts. Although civilization has made our lives infinitely complex, and although the hopes and fears which now most deeply move us are such as no brute could ever dream of, the physical accompaniments and consequences of our emotions to-day are almost precisely the same as when those emotions were only evoked by brute instincts. Practically, nothing has been added to the machinery of the emotions since our forefathers loved, or fought, or fled, among the inaccessible tree-tops.

Falling from a height has long ceased to be one of the deadly and constant dangers that threaten us. We are mainly dependent now, not upon our power to hold on to the branches in time of danger, but upon our power of holding our own with our fellow men. It is for this reason that people will sacrifice comfort and health, and will pour out money like water, for the sake of maintaining, or adding to, their social status. Hence a new "falling" terror has seized us, which is almost as dominant as the old. Darwin has pointed out that a social slip, although no more than a mere youthful *gaucherie,* or some trivial neglect of etiquette, which may bring us under the contempt of our fellows, awakens the emotion of shame far more than a serious transgression against the laws of ethics.

Now, what is the almost universal characteristic of the shy or timorous person who habitually feels himself walking in perilous places in society, and is conscious of being in imminent danger of making some slip of this kind? Is it not a damp hand?

Let me call as a witness that eminent expert on Average

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Human Nature, Mr. Dooley of Chicago. In his narrative as to his first (and last) appearance as an orator he says: "But somehow, Hinnissy, th' minyit I looked down on what Hogan calls th' sea iv upturned faces dhrinkin', I began to feel onaisy. . . . I felt quare. . . . *I noticed that me hands were moist.*" Now, keen as is Mr. Dooley's mind in piercing to the bed-rock of things through any amount of the detritus of over-civilization, I doubt whether he realized that, on this occasion, he was guarding against an impending fall from greatness by invoking the weight of the earth's atmosphere.

Could there be a more striking example of the illimitable conservatism of Nature, and of the archaic machinery still at work within our bodies? Dame Nature has, apparently, not yet got used to the fact that we have come down from the trees and adopted newfangled terrestrial habits: for, when we feel bashful, or are moving in slippery places in "high society," or are otherwise in dread or distress, because—like Mr. Dooley when before the "Archey Road Improvement Comity,"—we seem threatened with a social downfall, she at once, with unfailing benevolence, meets the case by providing us with moist hands. Having thus done her part in getting her children out of a fix when in imminent danger of falling, she lets us alone to regain "harmony with our environment"—by the help of atmospheric pressure!

This I take to be one of the curious ancient readings which are to be found (partly, no doubt, "between the lines") in finger-prints.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

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THE JURIDICAL NATURE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.*

BY COUNT APPONYI.

It is a fundamental, yet common, mistake to regard the Austrian Empire as comprising Hungary as a constituent part of it, and to consider Hungarian independence as a sort of provincial autonomy, conceded to that "turbulent province" by the central power of the Empire. The truth is the very opposite of this; the primal fact is an independent kingdom of Hungary, which has allied itself for certain purposes and under certain conditions to the equally independent and distinct empire of Austria, by an act of sovereign free will, without having ever abdicated the smallest particle of its sovereignty as an independent nation, though it has consented to exercise a small part of its Governmental functions through executive organs common with Austria. That Austrian Empire which is supposed to include Hungary has no existence, except in false theory and in former oppressive practice; in public law it always was, and now in fact is, a nonentity.

The following facts indicate how the connection between Hungary and Austria was brought about and shaped. That connection began in 1526, when Ferdinand of Austria was elected King of Hungary, under the express condition, accepted by him and his successors, that the independence of the Hungarian kingdom should remain unimpaired. But the connection took shape and a tie was formed between the two countries only in 1723, when hereditary right to the Hungarian throne was conferred on the Austrian house by the well-known "Pragmatic Sanction" which was embodied in the Hungarian laws I and II of the same year.

* Substance of an address delivered at the Arts and Science Congress held at St. Louis.

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The enactments of these laws may be thus summed up and analyzed:

1. Hereditary right to reign over Hungary is conferred on the male and female descendants of the Kings Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles III, in conformity with the law of primogeniture already in vogue in the Austrian domains, to the effect that, as long as the above-mentioned lineage lasts, the same physical person must infallibly reign in both countries, Hungary and Austria, with no legal possibility of division. The other collateral branches of the Austrian house have no right to succession in Hungary, though they may be possessed of it in Austria.

2. Notwithstanding that personal union, the independence of the Hungarian crown and the old liberties of the kingdom are solemnly recognized and reasserted.

3. When the above-described lineage shall become extinct, Hungary will use again her ancient right of free election to the throne, irrespective of what Austria, or any part of Austria, may choose to do in that emergency.

4. As long as this lineage lasts and the same physical person reigns in both countries, Hungary and Austria are bound to assist each other against foreign aggression.

On analyzing this fundamental transaction we must take note of its contents and of its form.

In the contents there is nothing to take away any particle of Hungary's independence and national sovereignty. A personal tie is formed, it is true, with another country; I call it "personal" because it lasts only as long as a certain set of persons, a certain lineage, exists, and becomes *ipso facto* severed whenever those persons disappear. But that personal tie, the identity of the ruler, does not affect the juridical independence of the country, because that identity exists only with respect to the physical person, while the personality of the King of Hungary remains quite as distinct in public law from the personality of the Austrian ruler as it had been before; as King of Hungary that monarch wields his prerogative, checked and controlled by the nation; as ruler in Austria he wields—or wielded at that time—a power almost absolute, grown of a combination of feudal and Roman law, both unknown in Hungary. To that personal tie, a solemn league and covenant was added, a mutual obligation to assist each other against foreign aggression. Is there anything in the nature

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of such a covenant which should, of necessity, impair the independence of the nations who are parties to it? The answer to that depends wholly on the form of the transaction, on the sources from which it derives its binding character, on the forces which insure its execution. Had that obligation for mutual defence been laid upon Hungary by a power outside her own public powers and superior to them, or should there be any sort of such superior legal organization able to enforce its execution against Hungary's free will or to interpret its meaning in a way binding upon her, then, indeed, Hungary would be no more a sovereign nation. But of all this there is not even a trace. Hungary entered that compact of mutual defence by an act of her sovereign will, *and its execution as well as its interpretation*—let me emphasize this point, because it absolutely settles the question—*depends entirely on her good faith and on her discretion.* Neither before, nor in, nor after the solemn transaction called the "Pragmatic Sanction" will anybody be able to discover even the trace of any power superior to the public powers of Hungary, entitled to control her, able to force on her what she does not choose to accept or to do. Now, this way of forming and of keeping compacts with another nation exactly answers to the idea of national sovereignty. We shall see later on that these characteristic features of the legal status of Hungary suffered no alteration whatever through more recent transactions.

A certain confusion has been caused by the title of "Emperor of Austria." Many people think that this imperial title extends over all His Majesty's domains, Hungary included, and that it represents a collective sovereignty superior to that of the Hungarian Crown. The corresponding territorial idea is that of an Austrian Empire, including Hungary.* Now, these conceptions are absolutely false. The new imperial title has nothing whatever to do with Hungary, it has legal existence only with respect to those other domains which, from that date, can be properly

* The Empire of Austria is composed of seventeen States, each of which has its own local Legislature, and also Representatives in the Imperial Parliament at Vienna. The total area of the Empire is 115,903 square miles (Arizona has 112,920 square miles), and the population in 1900 was 26,150,597. Hungary has its own Parliament, has no Representatives in the Austrian Parliament, contains 125,039 square miles (New Mexico has 122,460 square miles), and in 1900 the population was 19,207,103. Hungary is larger in area than the Austrian Empire, but has not quite so large a population.

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called "Austria"—to the exclusion of the Kingdom of Hungary. As ruler of those other domains, His Majesty may call himself whatever he pleases; but in Hungary he is merely King. It is quite as absurd to think of the Emperor of Austria as ruler of Hungary as it would be to fancy the King of Hungary as reigning in Austria. To our public law, the Emperor of Austria is a foreign sovereign.

We next have to inquire whether the celebrated compromise of 1867 has in any way altered the legal status of Hungary, or taken away any particle of Hungary's juridical independence? This question is to be emphatically negatived.

The celebrated transaction called the "Compromise of 1867" is embodied in Law XII of that year. In its first (declaratory) part, this law fixes again the meaning of the Pragmatic Sanction, emphasizing its two principles: our sovereign national independence, and the mutual obligation to mutual defence with Austria. Then it proceeds to state that the fact of Austria's having been endowed with a constitution, which gives to her people a right of controlling their government, makes some new provision necessary in those branches of administration which bear direct relation to mutual defence, and in which it is, therefore, highly desirable that the joint action of both countries should be unfailingly secured. To that end, the two great agencies of national defence—foreign affairs and war-administration—are to a certain extent declared common affairs, but in the executive sphere only, where action originates. Legislation on them (such as assenting to international treaties, framing of laws on the conditions of military service, on recruiting, etc.) is expressly reserved to the juridically independent action of both legislatures, which are, however, desired to do their best to agree on these matters. To provide for these common affairs, common ministries of foreign affairs and of war are called into existence; the expenses of these two departments are jointly to be borne by both countries in proportion to their comparative financial power—measured until now by the results of taxation in each. Both countries have equal control over these common departments, a control which they can exert through ways direct and indirect.

The common ministry of foreign affairs implies a common diplomatic service. It is not so clear up to what point unity of the armed force is implied in common war-administration. Our

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law mentions a Hungarian army as part of the whole army, which is to be unitedly commanded and regulated as to its inner organization by the King, in the exercise of his constitutional prerogative. The somewhat oracular terms of this proviso have given birth to much controversy, and to some trouble lately. But one fact towers above all controversy, namely, the fact that, in public law, the individuality of the Hungarian army has been expressly maintained; and this is all that need be said about the matter here, where we are considering the juridical aspect of things only.

Particular provision has been made for the annual vote on common—foreign and war—expenses, and for a direct parliamentary control of the respective common ministries. Anything like a common parliamentary body being out of the question, the natural proceeding would be to submit these questions to both parliaments, but practical difficulties might arise if their votes should differ; how could two great parliamentary bodies residing in two different countries come to an agreement as quickly as the necessities of immediate action might sometimes require? To meet this practical difficulty, select committees are annually chosen by both parliaments to the number of sixty members each. These are called Delegations, and hold their annual meeting at the Emperor's and King's call alternately at Vienna and at Budapest. The Delegations do not sit together; they are two separate bodies, like the mother assemblies, only more handy ones to adjust difficulties. In case of disagreement they communicate through written messages, and only when it seems impossible to settle differences through correspondence (a very rare occurrence) do they meet for a simultaneous vote, at which meeting no discussion can take place. What is, then, the juridical meaning of that simultaneous vote? Is it to get a joint majority out of both bodies? That would contradict the fundamental principle of the institution, which is no sort of common parliament, but only a channel of easier communication between the two parliaments; the real meaning of that somewhat anomalous expedient is simply to bring face to face the two dissentient national wills, and to make the more fixed of them prevail when joint action must be secured one way or other.

The only function of the Delegations is to fix the figures of the budget of both common departments and to bring the controlling

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power of both parliaments over these departments into direct action. The figures, as fixed by them, are incorporated into the Austrian and into the Hungarian budgets. The ratifying vote of the Hungarian parliament is essential to give legal value to their resolutions, and—though the parliaments cannot alter them—the Hungarian parliament at least has power altogether to reject any decision of the Delegations, when it thinks that the latter have gone beyond their constitutional competence.

The parliaments—the Hungarian parliament at least, for the Austrian law gives greater power to the Austrian Delegation than Hungarian law bestows on the Hungarian one—have, as I already hinted, indirect means, besides the direct one, of controlling the common departments. Law and custom desire the administration of common affairs—though entrusted to common ministers—to remain, as to its leading principles, in constant agreement with the Hungarian ministry; the latter is, therefore, co-responsible for the general conduct of foreign and war affairs to the Hungarian parliament, which may give an adverse vote on any question touching those departments. Such a vote, though affecting directly the Hungarian ministry only, would most certainly have an indirect bearing on the position of the common minister of the department involved—or on his policy. This indirect influence of our parliament shows still more clearly that the common affairs and the common executive agents are anything rather than representatives of a power higher than the public powers of Hungary; they are, on the contrary, constantly controlled by these powers and entirely dependent on them.

Several other enactments of the law XII, 1867, which express the advisability of Austria and Hungary's agreeing on some matters not exactly belonging to the sphere of mutual defence,* I pass by here, because—being entirely facultative in their execution—they can have no possible bearing on the juridical aspects of national independence. But it is now my task to analyze the institutions created in 1867, and to inquire whether they have impaired Hungary's independence as a sovereign nation.

* The most important of these enactments is one which provides for customs union to be periodically established. It is far from improbable that in a few years that union will be dissolved and a commercial barrier rise between Hungary and Austria. Nor will this modification of their economic relation juridically affect the connection as established by the Pragmatic Sanction and shaped out by the law of 1867.

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That there is mutual dependence, in the political sense of the word, between two nations which are bound to act together in certain affairs and have created institutions to secure such identity of action, seems perfectly clear. Mutual dependence of this kind certainly exists between Hungary and Austria; there is a strong party in Hungary which objects even to this, and calls itself, on that account, the party of independence. But with this political aspect of the question I have here nothing to do. Mutual dependence between two equals depending on the free will of both does not affect their independent juridical individuality—in the case of a nation, the nation's sovereignty. That would be impaired only should the nation be incorporated as a part into some larger body, or controlled by some legal power superior to her own public powers. Now, is this the case of Hungary since 1867?

The question put in these terms is negatived by the very nature of the transaction which we are examining. We call it a "compromise"; and such it is politically speaking. Hungary—before creating law XII, 1867—ascertained in a proper way that that law would settle the difficulties pending with the dynasty and with Austria as common good sense required her to do. But, as to *its binding force,* this celebrated law is no treaty, but simply a law like any other law, liable to be abolished or changed at Hungary's uncontrolled pleasure. It is immaterial, for the purposes of the present discussion, that Hungary would certainly think the matter twice over before tampering with that particular law: that is the *political* aspect of the question. *Legally,* the whole machinery of common affairs and common ministries can be destroyed by an independent act of the Hungarian legislature, with which nobody has a right to interfere. Now, how can institutions which depend for their very existence on the sovereign will of Hungary represent a power superior to her—or controlling her? They are not even a new tie between Austria and Hungary, for the simple reason that Hungary is not tied by them. Matters are left, then, exactly as they stood after the Pragmatic Sanction: an independent and sovereign Hungarian nation has entered personal union with Austria, and both countries are bound by solemn compact to assist each other against foreign aggression.

Though this settles the question, let us consider the common institutions in their activity, and let us inquire whether they

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represent, while existing, some fragment at least of an imperial establishment—an establishment, including both Hungary and Austria, superior to their public powers and, let us say, provisionally controlling them to a certain extent. What constitutive elements of such an establishment can be found in the machinery set up by the legislation of 1867?

It has no territory; there is a Hungarian territory, and there is an Austrian territory: Austro-Hungarian territory there is none, as has been declared by a resolution of Parliament, when dealing with an inaccurately worded international treaty.

It has no citizens: there are Hungarian citizens and there are Austrian citizens; the rights of these two classes of citizens being not only distinct, but widely different in the legal conditions of acquiring and losing them.

It has no legislative power; we have seen that even in common affairs legislative acts are expressly reserved to both legislatures; we have further seen that the Delegations have no legislative power, and are, even in the sphere of their competence, nothing like imperial representative assemblies, but simply select committees of both parliaments, called into existence for purposes of easier communication between them, and working under their constant control.

It has no judiciary; questions arising between the two countries must be settled, if agreement is impossible, by international arbitration, as was done in a boundary question a few years ago.

But it seems to have, at least, an executive? What are the common ministers, if not some embodiment of a common, of an imperial, executive power? Now, let us overlook the queer aspect of an imperial establishment, possessed of no other attribute, no other public power, but an executive; let us overlook the little hand-trick which must be performed imperceptibly to glide from "common"—which supposes two parties at least—into "imperial," which means one; and let us simply state that even a common executive power does not exist, cannot exist,—between Hungary and Austria. There are common ministers, indeed; but in what constitution of the world is executive power vested in ministries? We find it everywhere among the constitutional attributes of the first magistrate, subject to more or less restrictions, but vested in him, having its real existence personified by him, ministers being merely his agents, agents designated by

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the constitution. In Hungary, executive power is vested in the King; in Austria, in the Emperor.* Now, the King of Hungary and the Emperor of Austria, though meeting in one physical person, are two distinct personalities in public law, every part of their prerogatives being distinct and generally different. The King of Hungary can only be invested with the executive power of Hungary, the Emperor of Austria with the executive power of Austria; no third personality of public law, no sort of imperial first magistrateship, has ever been conferred on His Majesty, nor does such a personality, I presume, evolve out of nothing by a sort of "*generatio equivoca*"—spontaneous growth. So there exists no person in whom such common, or imperial, executive power could possibly be vested, just as there is no source from which it could be derived. Common ministers are simply agents of both executive powers, Austrian and Hungarian, for those branches of government in which both executives should act together; they are ministers of the Emperor and of the King, to assist His Majesty in those acts through which he simultaneously exercises both his executive prerogatives, imperial and royal.

What is the bearing of such a connection between Austria and Hungary, as two sovereign nations, on the international situation of either of them separately or of both taken jointly?

That Hungary, taken separately, has a legal personality in international law stands above doubt; it simply follows from her being an independent Kingdom, not subject to any other Kingdom or nation, as a fundamental law of 1791 declares it. But,

* Austria and Hungary were both represented at the recent session of the Interparliamentary Union, which caused the calling of the second conference at The Hague. Count Apponyi was president of the delegation from the Hungarian Parliament, Vladimir Ritter von Gniewosz was president of the delegation from the Austrian Empire. Count Apponyi is Chamberlain to the King of Hungary. Mr. Gniewosz is Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria. A Chamberlain is a man who has access at all times to the head of the State. Franz Joseph, as King, receives Count Apponyi on matters which concern Hungary. As Emperor, he receives Mr. Gniewosz on matters which concern Austria. If we imagine a law passed in Mexico making the Presidents of the United States in succession Presidents also of Mexico, but bound by the Constitution and laws of Mexico in his actions as President of Mexico, the relation between Austria and Hungary will become plain. The President would act in one set of matters as President of the United States, in others as President of Mexico. The Congresses, courts and other governmental agencies of the two nations would go on unimpaired by this choice of a common President.

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since she is bound to Austria by a covenant of mutual defence, and since the law of 1867 has declared common affairs "those foreign affairs which affect the interests of both countries"—meaning those which bear direct relation to national defence—Hungary, as well as Austria, has for the time being disabled herself *by her own law* to act separately in international matters of that kind; she has, with respect to these matters, for the time being, renounced the separate use of her personality in international law, and must, in all cases of such nature, act jointly with Austria. The permanent potentiality of that joint action, the union of the two nations for that purpose, is called "Austria-Hungary," or—since their ruler is physically one monarch—the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, though that term, as being apt to misinterpretation, is not very felicitously chosen and will probably fall into desuetude. Austria-Hungary then—as is shown by the double term itself—does not mean one empire, but the permanent union of two nations for certain international purposes. In all international affairs not belonging to the sphere of national defence (such as railway conventions, extradition treaties, copyright conventions, etc.), the international personality of Hungary not only can, but must, act separately, because with respect to them there is no union with Austria, and therefore their joint action cannot even be juridically constructed, except on the grounds of some (*ad hoc*) convention between them.

But, even where joint action is necessary, it is not the action of *one* empire (which, having no substance, is hardly capable of action of any sort), but the joint action of two. Being bound to such joint action in certain matters, the union of these two constitutes one great power; for what is power, but potentiality of action—in our case of joint action? But it is not necessary to invest that great power with a juridical personality of its own; the fact that it represents a permanent obligation of two personalities to act jointly in matters of peace and war, answers to all requirements, theoretical and practical.

We can easily see now the chief source of the erroneous views generally prevailing about the legal status of Hungary. Hungary usually appears in joint international action with Austria; they have a common representation. These facts are apt, by themselves, to spread a false impression, which could be prevented only if the forms of such joint action and common representation

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would clearly indicate—as they ought to do—the two sovereignties, which, though acting in conjunction, are possessed each of its own personality.

Unhappily, not even now can we point to a complete concord between what appears to the eyes of foreigners and what the relations between Hungary and Austria legally are. A wholesale reform of certain misleading forms in foreign (and, to some extent, military) matters has not yet been effected, though it has begun and will no doubt be completed in due time.

I should not like to be misunderstood. Hungary's strong insistence on her national independence does not, in the least, imply a will, or a wish, to break away from Austria. We mean to be true to the reigning dynasty—no nation within its dominions is more absolutely reliable in that respect; we mean loyally to fulfil our compact of mutual defence with Austria; in a word, what our forefathers agreed to, as being obligations freely accepted by Hungary, we mean to adhere to, as honest men should. All we want is that equal faith should be kept with us, that those equally binding enactments of the Pragmatic Sanction, which make Hungary secure of her independence as a sovereign nation, as a kingdom, "*nulli alio regno vel populo subditum,*" as the law of 1791 puts it, should be fulfilled with equal loyalty.

To such complete national existence Hungary has as good a right as any nation on earth, not on grounds of formal legality only, but because her people are conscious of having creditably fulfilled their mission as a bulwark of Western civilization and of liberty. We do not see that this mission is ended; nor do we see how it could be fulfilled, should that organic force of our peculiar national mentality and constitution be missing, should that force which stands unshaken after trials before which stronger empires have fallen into dust, give way to artificial combinations and mechanical contrivances.

We are then only faithful to the supreme law of our destinies when upholding the banner of national independence with unflinching firmness of resolve.

APPONYI.

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THE ENGLISH DRAMA OF TO-DAY.

BY HENRY A. BEERS.

THE past fifteen or twenty years have witnessed one more concerted effort to "elevate the English stage," and this time with a fair prospect of results. There is a stir of expectation: the new drama is announced and already in part arrived. It would be premature to proclaim success as yet; but thus much may be affirmed, that the dramatic output of the last quarter-century outweighs that of any other quarter-century since 1700. Here, for instance, are the titles of a dozen contemporary plays which it would be hard to match with any equal number produced during an equal period of time since the failure of Congreve's latest and most brilliant comedy, "The Way of the World," marked the close of the Restoration drama: W. S. Gilbert's "Pygmalion and Galatea"; Sydney Grundy's "An Old Jew"; Henry Arthur Jones's "Judah" and "The Liars"; Arthur Wing Pinero's "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" and "The Benefit of the Doubt"; George Bernard Shaw's "Candida" and "Arms and the Man"; Oscar Wilde's "Salome" and "Lady Windermere's Fan"; Stephen Phillips's "Ulysses"; and W. Butler Yeats's "The Land of Heart's Desire." (I have gone back a few years to include Mr. Gilbert's piece, first given at the Haymarket in 1871.)

Every one of these dramas has been performed with acceptance, every one of them is a contribution to literature, worthy the attention of cultivated readers. I do not say that any one of them is a masterpiece, or that collectively they will hold the stage as Goldsmith's and Sheridan's are still holding it a century and a quarter after their first production. But I will venture to say that, taken together, they constitute a more solid and varied group of dramatic works than that favorite little bunch of "classical" comedies, and offer a securer ground of hope for the future of the

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British stage. It will be observed that half of them are tragedies, or plays of a serious interest; also, that they do not form a school, in the sense in which the French tragedy of Louis XIV, or the English comedy of the Restoration, was a school—that is, a compact dramatic group, limited in subject and alike in manner. They are the work of individual talents, conforming to no single ideal, but operating on independent lines. And it would be easy to add a second dozen by the same authors little, if at all, inferior to those on the first list.

Probably the foremost English play-writer of to-day is Mr. A. W. Pinero, whether tried by the test of popular success in the theatre, or by the literary quality of his printed dramas. He learned his art as Shakespeare learned his, by practical experience as an actor, and by years of obscure work as a hack-writer for the playhouses, adapting from the French, dramatizing novels, scribbling one-act curtain-raisers and all kinds of theatrical nondescripts. There is a long list of failures and half successes to his account before he emerged, about 1885, with a series of three-act farces, "The Magistrate," "The Cabinet Minister," "The Schoolmistress" and the like, which pleased every one by their easy, natural style, their fresh invention, the rollicking fun that carried off their highly improbable entanglements, and the *bonhomie* and knowledge of the world with which comic character was observed and portrayed. Absurdity is the kingdom of farce; and, as in the topsyturvy world of opera bouffe, a great part of the effect in these plays is obtained by setting dignified persons, like prime ministers, cathedral deans and justices, to doing ludicrously incongruous actions. Thus, the schoolmistress, outwardly a very prim and proper gentlewoman, leads a double life, putting in her Christmas vacation as a figurante in comic opera; anticipating, and perhaps suggesting, Mr. Zangwill's "Serio-Comic Governess."

To these farces succeeded pieces in which social satire, sentimental comedy, and the comedy of character were mixed in varying proportions: "Sweet Lavender," "The Princess and the Butterfly," "Trelawney of the Wells" and others. Of these, the first was, perhaps, the favorite, and was translated and performed in several languages. It is a very winning play, with a genuine popular quality, though with a slight twist in its sentiment. Pinero's art has deepened in tone, until in such later

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work as "The Profligate," "The Benefit of the Doubt," "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith" and "Iris," he has dealt seriously, and sometimes tragically, with the nobler passions. His *chef d'oeuvre* in this kind, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," is constructed with consummate skill, and its psychology is right and true. This is a problem play (it is unfortunate that we apply this term exclusively to plays dealing with one particular class of problems), and its ethical value, as well as its tragical force, lies in its demonstration of the truth that no one can escape from his past. The past will avenge itself upon him or her, not only in the unforeseen consequences of old misdeeds, but in that subtler nemesis, the deterioration of character which makes life under better conditions irksome and impossible. The catastrophe comes with the inevitableness of the old Greek fate-tragedies. In this instance, it is suicide, as in "Hedda Gabler" or Hauptmann's "*Vor Sonnenaufgang.*" Though criticised as melodramatic, the dramatist makes us feel it here to be the only solution. Mr. Pinero has already achieved the distinction of a "Pinero Birthday Book"; while "Arthur Wing Pinero: a Study," by H. Hamilton Fyfe, a book of two hundred and fifty pages, with a bibliography, reviews his plays *seriatim*.

Without pushing the analogy too far, we may call Mr. Pinero and Mr. Bernard Shaw the Goldsmith and Sheridan of the modern stage. In Pinero, as in Goldsmith, humor more than wit is the prevailing impression. That "brilliancy" which is often so distressing is absent from his comedy, whose surfaces do not corruscate, but absorb the light softly. His satire is good-natured, his worldliness not hard, and his laughter is a neighbor to tears. Shaw is an Irishman, a journalistic free-lance and Socialist pamphleteer. He has published three collections of plays—"Pleasant," "Unpleasant" and "For Puritans,"—accompanied with amusingly truculent prefaces, discussing, among other things, whether his pieces are "better than Shakespeare's." Two of his comedies, "Arms and the Man" and "The Devil's Disciple," were put on in New York by Mr. Mansfield as long ago, if I am right, as 1894 and 1897, respectively. "Arms and the Man" is an effective theatre piece, with a quick movement, ingenious misunderstandings and several exciting moments. Like his fellow countryman, Sheridan, Mr. Shaw is clever in inventing situations, though he professes scorn of them as bits of old

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theatrical lumber, a concession to the pit. "Candida" was given in America a season or two ago, and the problems of character which it proposes have been industriously discussed by the dramatic critics and by social circles everywhere. The author is reported to have been amused at this, and to have described his heroine as a most unprincipled woman—a view quite inconsistent with the key kindly afforded in the stage directions. These, in all Shaw's plays, are explicit and profuse, comprising details of costume, gesture, expression, the furniture and decorations of the scene, with full character analyses of the *dramatis personae* in the manner of Ben Jonson. The italicized portions of the printed play are little less important than the speeches; and small license of interpretation is left to the players. This is an extra-dramatic method, the custom of the novel overflowing upon the stage. But Mr. Shaw defends the usage and asks: "What would we not give for the copy of 'Hamlet' used by Shakespeare at rehearsal, with the original 'business' scrawled by the prompter's pencil? And if we had, in addition, the descriptive directions which the author gave on the stage: above all, the character sketches, however brief, by which he tried to convey to the actor the sort of person he meant him to incarnate! Well, we should have had all this if Shakespeare, instead of merely writing out his lines, had prepared the plays for publication in competition with fiction as elaborate as that of Meredith." "I would give half a dozen of Shakespeare's plays for one of the prefaces he ought to have written."

Shaw's appeal has been more acutely intellectual than Pinero's, but his plays are less popular and less satisfying; while the critics, he complains, refuse to take him seriously. They treat him as an irresponsible Irishman with a genius for paradox, a puzzling way of going back on himself and a freakish delight in mystifying the public. The heart interest in his plays is small. He has the Celtic subtlety, but not the Celtic sentiment; in this, too, resembling Sheridan, that wit rather than humor is the staple of his comedy —a wit which in both is employed in the service of satire upon sentiment. But the modern dramatist's satire cuts deeper and is more caustic. Lydia Languish and Joseph Surface, Sheridan's embodiments of romance and sentiment, are conceived superficially and belong to the comedy of manners, not of character. Sheridan would not have understood Lamb's saying that Charles Surface was the true canting hypocrite of "The School for Scandal."

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For nowadays sentiment and romance take less obvious shapes; and Shaw, who detests them both and holds a retainer for realism, tests for them with finer reagents.

And here comes in the influence of Ibsen, perhaps the most noticeable foreign influence in the recent English drama, from which it has partly driven out the French, hitherto all-predominant. Ibsen's introduction to the English stage dates from 1889 and the years following; although Mr. Gosse's studies and the translations of Mr. Havelock Ellis and others had made a few of his plays known to the reader. As long since as 1880, a very free version of "A Doll's House," under the title "Breaking a Butterfly," had been made for the theatre by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones and a collaborator. The French critic, M. Augustin Filon, in his book, "The English Stage" (1897), ventures a guess that the Ibsen brand of realism will be found to agree better with the English character than the article furnished by Dumas *fils* and other French dramatists; and he even suggests the somewhat fantastic theory that an audience of the fellow countrymen of Darwin and Huxley will listen with a peculiar sympathy to such a play as "Ghosts," in which the doctrine of heredity is so forcibly preached. Ibsen's masterly construction, quite as much as his ideas, has been studied with advantage by our dramatists. Thus it is thought that Pinero, who has shown, in general, very little of Ibsen's influence, may have taken a hint from him in the inconclusive ending of "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith." The inconclusive ending is a practice—perhaps a principle—of the latest realistic schools of drama and fiction. Life, they contend, has no artificial closes, but flows continually on, and a play is only a "bleeding slice of life." In old tragedy, death is the end. "Troilus and Cressida" is Shakespeare's only episodical tragedy, the only one in which the protagonist is not killed—and, perhaps for that reason, the quarto title-page describes it as a comedy. But in Ibsenite drama the hero or heroine does not always die. Sometimes he or she goes away, or sometimes just accepts the situation and stays on. The sound of the door shutting in "A Doll's House" tells us that Nora has gone out into the world to begin a new career. In "Mrs. Warren's Profession," one of Shaw's strongest "Plays Unpleasant"—so unpleasant that its production on the boards was forbidden by the Lord Chamberlain—when Vivie discovers what her mother's profession is, and where

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the money comes from that sent her to Newnham, she does nothing melodramatic, but simply utilizes her mathematical education by entering an actuary's office. The curtain falls to the stage direction: "Then she goes at her work with a plunge, and soon becomes absorbed in her figures."

Shaw is a convinced Ibsenite and took up the foils for the master in a series of articles in the "Saturday Review" in 1895. The new woman, the emancipated woman so much in evidence in Ibsen, goes in and out through Shaw's plays, short-skirted, cigarette-smoking, a business woman with no nonsense about her, a good fellow, calling her girl friends by their last names and treating male associates with a brusque *camaraderie*. But, as he satirizes everything, himself included, he has his laugh at the Ibsen cult in "The Philanderer." There is an Ibsen Club, with a bust of the Norse divinity over the library mantelpiece. One of the rules is that no womanly woman is to be admitted. At the first symptom of womanliness, a woman forfeits her membership. What Shaw chiefly shares with Ibsen is his impatience of heroics, cant, social lies, respectable prejudices, the conventions of a traditional morality. Face facts, call things by their names, drag the skeleton out of the closet. Ibsen brushes these cobwebs aside with a grave logic and a savage contempt; he makes their hollow unreality the source of tragic wrong. But Shaw's lighter temperament is wholly that of the comic artist, and he attacks cant with the weapons of irony. His favorite characters are audacious, irreverent young men and women, without illusions and incapable of being shocked, but delighting in shocking their elders. The clergy are the professional trustees of this conventional morality and are treated by Ibsen and Shaw with scant respect. Mrs. Alving in "Ghosts" shows the same contemptuous toleration of the scruples of the rabbitlike Parson Manders, as Candida shows for her clerical husband's preaching and phrase-making. The present season has witnessed the first appearance on the American stage of Mr. Shaw's gayest farce comedy, "You Never Can Tell."

I asked an actor, a university graduate, what he thought of the future of verse drama in acted plays. He inclined to believe that its day had gone by, even in tragedy; and that the language of the modern serious drama would be prose, colloquial, never stilted (as it was in "George Barnwell" and "Richelieu"), but rising, when necessary, into eloquence and a kind of unmetrical poetry.

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He instanced several passages in Pinero's "Sweet Lavender" and later plays. Still, the blank-verse tradition dies hard. Probably the leading representative of ideal or poetic drama in the contemporary theatre is Stephen Phillips, whose "Paolo and Francesca" (1899), "Herod" (1900) and "Ulysses" (1902) have all been shown upon the boards and highly acclaimed, at least by the critics. There is no doubt that they are fine dramatic poems with many passages of delicate, and some of noble, beauty. But whether they are anything more than excellent closet drama is not yet proved. Mr. Phillips's experience as an actor has given him a practical knowledge of technic; and it may be conceded that his plays are nearer the requirements of the stage than Browning's or Tennyson's. They are simple, as Browning's are not; and they have quick movement, where Tennyson's are lumbering. Neither is it much against them that their subjects are antique, taken from Dante, Josephus and Homer. But they appear to me poetically rather than dramatically imagined. Shakespeare and Racine dealt with remote or antique life; yet, each in his own way modernized and realized it. It is a hackneyed observation that Racine's Greeks, Romans and Turks are French gentlemen and ladies of the court of Louis XIV. Shakespeare's Homeric heroes are very un-Homeric. There is little in either of local color or historical perspective: there is in both a fulness of handling, an explication of sentiments and characters. The people are able talkers and reasoners. Mr. Phillips's method is implicit, and the atmosphere of things old and foreign is kept, the distance which lends enchantment to mediæval Italy, or the later Roman Empire or the heroic age. It is as if the "Idylls of the King" were dramatized—as, indeed, "Elaine" was dramatized for one of the New York playhouses by George Lathrop—retaining all their romantic charm and all their dramatic unreality.

Still, there are moments of genuine dramatic passion in all three of these plays: in "Herod," for instance, where Mariamne acknowledges to the tetrarch that her love for him is dead. And in "Ulysses," Telemachus's recognition of his father moves one very deeply, producing its impression, too, by a few speeches in a perfectly simple, unembroidered diction, by means properly scenic, not poetic like Tennyson's. "Ulysses" seems the best of Mr. Phillips's pieces, more loosely built than the others, but of more varied interest and more lifelike. The gods speak in rhyme

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and the human characters in blank verse, while some of the more familiar dialogue is in prose; Ctesippus, an elderly wooer of Penelope, is a comic figure; and there is a good deal of rough, natural fooling among the wooers, shepherds and maids in the great hall of Ithaca. In its use of popular elements and its romantic freedom of handling, the play contrasts with Robert Bridges's "The Return of Ulysses," which Mr. Yeats praises for its "classical gravity" and "lyric and meditative" quality. Mr. Phillips opens his scene on Calypso's island, and brings his wandering hero home only after making him descend to the shades. His Ulysses shoots the wooers in full view of the audience. In Mr. Bridges's play the action begins in Ithaca, the unities of time and place are observed, and so is dramatic decency. The wooers are slain outside, and their slaying is described to Penelope by a handmaid who sees it from the door. Yet, upon the whole, Mr. Phillips's constructive formula is more Sophoclean than Shakespearean. Not that he adheres to the external conventions of Attic tragedy, the chorus, the unities, etc., like Matthew Arnold in "Merope"; but that his plot evolution exhibits the straight, slender line of Sophocles, rather than the rich composite pattern of Elizabethan tragi-comedy. I have been told by some who saw "Ulysses" played, that the descent *ad inferos* was grotesque in effect. But "Paolo and Francesca" might have gained from an infusion of grotesque. D'Annunzio's almost precisely contemporary version of the immortal tale has just the solid, materialistic treatment which makes you feel the brutal realities of mediæval life, the gross soil in which this "lily of Tartarus" found root. Mr. Phillips's latest piece, "The Sin of David," a tragedy of Cromwell's England, is now in its first season.

Among the most interesting of recent dramatic contributions are Wm. Butler Yeats's "Plays for an Irish Theatre." Mr. Yeats's recent visit to this country is still fresh in recollection; and doubtless many of my readers have seen his beautiful little fairy piece "The Land of Heart's Desire." Probably allegory, or at least symbolism, is the only form in which the supernatural has any chance in modern drama. The old-fashioned ghost is too robust an apparition to produce in a sceptical generation that "willing suspension of disbelief" which, says Coleridge, constitutes dramatic illusion. Hamlet's father talks too much; and the ghosts in "Richard III" are so sociable a company as to quite

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keep each other in countenance. The best ghost in Shakespeare is Banquo's, which is invisible—a mere "clot on the brain"—and has no "lines" to speak. The elves in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and the elemental spirits in "The Tempest" are nothing but machinery. The other world is not the subject of the play. Hauptmann's "*Die Versunkene Glocke*" is symbolism, and so is "The Land of Heart's Desire." Maeterlinck's "*Les Aveugles*" and Yeats's "Cathleen Ni Hoolihan" are more formally allegorical. The poor old woman, in the latter, who takes the bridegroom from his bride, is Ireland, from whom strangers have taken her "four beautiful green fields"—the ancient kingdoms of Munster, Leinster, Ulster and Connaught.

These Irish plays, indeed, are the nearest thing we have to the work of the Belgian symbolist, to dramas like "*Les Aveugles*" and "*L'Intruse.*" And, as in those, the people are peasants, and the dialogue is homely prose. No brogue: only a few idioms and sometimes not even that, the whole being supposed to be a translation from the Gaelic into standard English. Maeterlinck's dramas have been played on many theatres. Mr. Wm. Sharp, who twice saw "*L'Intruse*" at Paris, found it much less impressive in the acting than in the reading, and his experience was not singular. As for the more romantic pieces, like "*Les Sept Princesses*" and "*Aglavaine et Sélysette,*" they are about as shadowy as one of Tieck's tales. Those who saw Mrs. Patrick Campbell in "*Pelléas et Mélisande*" will doubtless agree that these dreamlike poems are hurt by representation. It may be that Maeterlinck, like Baudelaire, has invented a new shudder. But the matinée audiences laughed at many things which had thrilled the closet reader.

Yeats's tragedies, like Maeterlinck's, belong to the *drame intime,* the *théâtre statique.* The popular drama—what Yeats calls the "theatre of commerce"—is dynamic. The true theatre is the human will. Brunetière shows by an analysis of any one of Racine's plays—say "*Andromaque*"—how the action moves forward by a series of decisions. But Maeterlinck's people are completely passive: they suffer: they do not act, but are acted upon by the unearthly powers of which they are the sport. Yeats's plays, too, are "plays for marionettes," spectral puppet-shows of the Celtic twilight. True, his characters do make choices: the young wife in "The Land of Heart's Desire," the bridegroom in

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"Cathleen Ni Hoolihan" make choices, but their apparently free will is supernaturally influenced. The action is in two worlds. In antique tragedy, too, man is notoriously the puppet of fate; but, though he acts in ignorance of the end to which destiny is shaping his deed, he acts with vigorous self-determination. There is nothing dreamlike about Orestes or Œdipus or Antigone.

It is said that the plays of another Irishman, Oscar Wilde, are now great favorites in Germany: "Salome," in particular, and "Lady Windermere's Fan" and "A Woman of No Importance" (*"Eine unbedeutende Frau"*). This is rather surprising in the case of the last two, which are society dramas with little action and an excess of cynical wit in the dialogue. It is hard to understand how the unremitting fire of repartee, paradox and "reversed epigram" in such a piece as "Lady Windermere's Fan"—the nearest recent equivalent of Congreve comedy—can survive translation or please the German public.

This "new drama" is very new indeed. In 1882, Wm. Archer, the translator of Ibsen, published his book, "English Dramatists of To-day," in the introduction to which he acknowledged that the English literary drama did not exist. "I should like to see in England," he wrote, "a body of playwrights whose works are not only acted, but printed and *read*." Nine years later, Henry Arthur Jones, in the preface to his printed play, "Saints and Sinners," denied that there was any relation between English literature and the modern English drama. A few years later still, in his introduction to the English translation of M. Filon's book, "The English Stage" (1897), Mr. Jones is more hopeful. "If any one will take the trouble," he writes, "to examine the leading English plays of the last ten years, and will compare them with the serious plays of our country during the last three centuries, I shall be mistaken if he will not find evidence of the beginnings of an English drama of greater import and vitality, and of wider aim, than any school of drama the English theatre has known since the Elizabethans."

In his book on "The Renaissance of the Drama," and in many other places, Mr. Jones has pleaded for a theatre which should faithfully reflect contemporary life; and in his own plays he has endeavored to furnish examples of what such a drama should be. His first printed piece, "Saints and Sinners" (exhibited in 1884) was hardly literature, and did not stamp its author as a first-class

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talent. It is a seduction play of the familiar type, with a set of stock characters: the villain; the forsaken maid; the steadfast lover who comes back from Australia with a fortune in the nick of time; the *père noble,* a country clergyman straight out of "The Vicar of Wakefield"; and a pair of hypocritical deacons in a dissenting chapel — very much overdone, *pace* Matthew Arnold, who complimented Mr. Jones on those concrete examples of middle-class Philistinism, with its alliterative mixture of business and bethels. Mr. Jones, like Mr. Shaw, is true to the tradition of the stage in being fiercely anti-Puritan, and wastes many words in his prefaces in vindicating the right of the theatre to deal with religious hypocrisy; as if Tartuffe and Tribulation Wholesome had not been familiar comedy heroes for nearly three hundred years.

This dramatist served his apprenticeship in melodrama, as Pinero did in farce; and there are signs of the difference in his greater seriousness, or heaviness. Indeed, an honest feeling and an earnest purpose are among his best qualities. M. Filon thinks him the most English of contemporary writers for the stage. And, as Pinero's art has gained in depth, Jones's has gained in lightness. Crude at first, without complexity or shading in his character-drawing, without much art in comic dialogue or much charm and distinction in serious, he has advanced steadily in grasp and skill and sureness of touch, and stands to-day in the front rank of modern British dramatists. "The Crusaders," "The Case of Rebellious Susan," "The Masqueraders," "Judah," "The Liars," are all good plays — or, at least plays with good features — and certainly falling within the line which divides literary drama from the mere stage play. "Judah," for instance, is a solidly built piece, with two or three strong situations. The heroine is a fasting girl and miraculous healer, a subject of a kind which Hawthorne often chose; or reminding one of Mr. Howells's charlatans in "The Undiscovered Country" and Mr. James's in "The Bostonians." The characterization of the leading persons is sound, and there is a brace of very diverting broad comedy figures, a male and a female scientific prig. They are slightly caricatured—Jones is still a little heavy-handed—but the theatre must over-accentuate now and again, just as actresses must rouge.

In this play and in "The Crusaders," social satire is successfully

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essayed at the expense of prevailing fads, such as fashionable philanthropy, slumming parties, neighborhood guilds and the like. There is a woman in "The Crusaders,"—a campaigner, a steamboat, a specimen of the loud, energetic, public, organizing, speech-making, committee and platform, subscription-soliciting woman,—nearly as good as anything in our best fiction. Mr. Joseph Knight, who writes a preface to "Judah" (first put on at the Shaftesbury Theatre, London, 1890), compares its scientific faddists with the women who swarm to chemistry and biology lectures in that favorite Parisian comedy "*Le monde où l'on s'ennuie.*" There is capital satire of the downright kind in these plays, but surely it is dangerous to suggest comparison with the gay irony, the courtly grace, the dash and sparkle of Pailleron's little masterpiece. There are no such winged shafts in any English quiver. Upon the whole, "The Liars" seems to me the best comedy of Mr. Jones that I have read—I have not read them all—the most evenly sustained at every point of character and incident, a fine piece of work in both invention and construction. The subject, however, is of that disagreeable variety which the English drama has so often borrowed from the French; the rescue of a married woman from a compromising position, by a comic conspiracy in her favor.

The Puritans have always been half-way right in their opposition to the theatre. The drama, in the abstract and as a form of literature, is of an ancient house and a noble. But the professional stage tends naturally to corruption, and taints what it receives. The world pictured in these contemporary society plays—or in many of them—we are unwilling to accept as typical. Its fashion is fast and not seldom vulgar. It is a vicious democracy in which divorces are frequent and the "woman with a past" is the usual heroine; in which rowdy peers mingle oddly with manicurists, clairvoyants, barmaids, adventuresses, comic actresses, faith-healers, etc.; the contact between high life and low life has commonly disreputable motives. Surely this is not English life, as we know it from the best English fiction. And, if the drama is to take permanent rank with the novel, it must redistribute its emphasis.

HENRY A. BEERS.

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THE PROPER GRADE OF DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION.—A REPLY.

BY JAMES F. BARNETT.

UNDER the title, "The Proper Grade of Diplomatic Representation," Mrs. Van Rensselaer Cruger in a recent number of this REVIEW writes of the place of the ambassador in our diplomatic service. The question is suggested by a recent address delivered by the Hon. John W. Foster, at St. Louis, before the International Congress of Arts and Sciences. In Mr. Foster's opinion, a single grade of diplomatic representation is to be preferred to the present hierarchy, established nearly a century ago at the Congress of Vienna. The special privileges of the ambassador, he thinks, are unfair, while the increased cost of living, necessary to maintain the ambassadorial rank, excludes all but a few rich men from the office.

Mrs. Cruger's remedy would be to provide official residences for our diplomatic representatives, "in which all envoys, rich or poor, shall be expected to reside in a condition of quiet and unostentatious elegance consistent with republican institutions." As a result, she thinks, the style of living would be approximately the same, whatever the personal means of the incumbent; and diplomatic life would, as of old, be open to the Irvings, Bancrofts, Motleys and Lowells of a later day.

The ambassadorship was introduced into our foreign service by the Act of Congress of March 1st, 1893. This Act was passed at the very end of the last session of Congress under the Harrison administration. Coming, as it did, on the eve of a new Democratic régime, the measure seems to have been passed without discussion.

Mr. Cleveland immediately availed himself of this authority by accrediting as ambassadors the new American representatives

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to England, France, Germany and Italy. No further additions were made to the number until Mr. McKinley's first administration, when, in December, 1898, our ministers to Mexico and Russia were accredited as ambassadors. In June, 1902, similar action was taken as to the legation to Austro-Hungary, and last year the Brazilian mission became an embassy. The present number of American representatives of this class is therefore eight.

The text of the Act of March 1st, 1893, is as follows:

"Whenever the President shall be advised that any foreign government is represented, or is about to be represented, in the United States by an ambassador, envoy extraordinary, minister plenipotentiary, minister resident, special envoy or *chargé d'affaires*, he is authorized, at his discretion, to direct that the representative of the United States to such government shall bear the same designation. This provision shall in no wise affect the duties, powers or salary of such representative."

Mrs. Cruger supposes that, "whatever be the urgent need of this country for an envoy of ambassadorial rank, at a particular time or place, the President is powerless to take the initiative in appointing him. Not until the government to which he is to be accredited has actually taken the first step does the law in question become operative." This observation is correct, however, only in the sense that there may be practical difficulties in the way of the President's raising a particular envoy to the rank of ambassador, in the absence of an appropriation by Congress for the salary of such an office. The Constitution gives to the President the power, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers." This power is absolute and exclusive. The function of Congress here consists in appropriating salaries. Indeed, in the earlier years of the Republic, Congress was accustomed to appropriate a lump sum for carrying on the foreign relations of the United States, and the President allotted it to our respective representatives sent abroad, as he saw fit.

The point above alluded to was settled by an opinion of Attorney-General Cushing so long ago as 1855, when he ruled that an Act of Congress which provided that the President should appoint diplomatic representatives of a certain grade to certain countries was clearly unconstitutional. Mr. Cushing expressly held that, "The President has power by the Constitution to appoint diplomatic agents of any rank, at any place, and at any

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time, subject to the constitutional conditions of relation to the Senate." This is a matter, I believe, as to which there is some misapprehension. Even a person in such high place as the late Cushman K. Davis, then Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, when the matter was called to his attention, said that he "supposed that Congress created the offices."

Of course, if Congress makes an appropriation to pay the salary of an envoy to a particular post, and the President accredits the incumbent as an ambassador, the appointee could not lawfully receive the salary. If he happened to be a man of independent means, he might consent to forego his salary temporarily, or the President might direct that he be paid from the emergency fund. In fact, the chief purpose of the law of March 1st, 1893, was to obviate the difficulty as to salary.

In so far, therefore, as this law appears to limit the circumstances in which the President may appoint an ambassador, it is of no binding force whatever. At best, it is but an expression of opinion by the members of the Fifty-second Congress that the President should await the action of foreign governments before exercising this prerogative. To this extent the law is an anomaly, and ought to be amended, so that a diplomatic officer may be promoted whenever the President deems expedient. As a question of constitutional law, there should be no doubt on the subject. When the President has acted in the matter, it becomes the duty of Congress to appropriate such salary as it may think ought to be attached to the office. But, surely, when, as in the case under discussion, no change of salary is involved, and where the question is purely one of expediency in managing the foreign affairs of the government, there can be no doubt of the obligation of Congress to make the necessary verbal alterations in the law. The question of rank is disposed of finally, when the Senate acts on the nomination of the proposed ambassador.

An incident in the history of our foreign relations will serve as an illustration of a possible emergency. In April, 1813, during a recess of the Senate, President Madison commissioned Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams and James Bayard, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, under the proffered mediation of Russia. The situation was one calling for prompt and decisive action. Subsequently, when their nominations were submitted

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to the Senate for confirmation, a disposition was shown to censure the President's course, on the ground that he had attempted unconstitutionally to fill a vacancy in offices, which, it was alleged, had no legal existence. No formal action was taken by the Senate, a resolution of protest being ordered to lie on the table. As President Monroe afterwards observed, in a similar situation, the question involved was that of appointment to offices "not created by Congress, but existing by the law of nations."

As Mrs. Cruger suggests, there seems to be little likelihood that European governments would agree to the levelling process in diplomatic rank proposed by Mr. Foster. At several European capitals during the last thirty-five years, a number of legations have been raised to embassies. Just prior to the Franco-Prussian war, there was but one embassy at Madrid (that of France); none at Florence (then the Italian capital) and only two at Berlin. The unification of Italy, and the formation of the German Empire, were naturally followed by an exchange of ambassadors with the other great Powers. Notwithstanding the decadence of Spain in the intervening time, there are five embassies at Madrid to-day. At Constantinople, the unsolved Eastern question, and the ambassadorial right of personal interview with the Sultan (important in an absolute monarchy), explain the presence there of seven embassies. On the other hand, "minister resident" and "*chargé d'affaires*" have been almost everywhere superseded by "envoy extraordinary, etc.," except in the exchange of diplomatic agents with the smaller Spanish-American countries, with some of the Balkan states and with the lesser Asiatic states, Corea and Siam. In our own service, we now have but two ministers resident, whom we send to the Dominican Republic and to Liberia. The recent action of Brazil in reference to the Washington mission is likely to be followed in due time by other states, so that finally all the greater countries will be represented by ambassadors at capitals where their interests are important. Smaller states, which perforce must play a lesser part in world-politics, will probably be content to retain the thoroughly dignified office of envoy. It would seem, therefore, that the net result will be a return to the old classification; viz., diplomatic agents of the first and second class, the former to be known as "ambassadors," and the latter as "envoys." Possibly, this may be only an intermediate stage in the development, and eventually Mr. Foster's

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ideal condition may be reached when "all distinctions and special privileges are abolished and a single grade is established in all the capitals of the world."

Meanwhile, the rule of "first come, first served" should govern as to interviews with ministers at the Foreign Office. As to the ambassador's right to demand a personal interview with the head of the state, the latest authorities seem to agree that the privilege is not much greater than that accorded to the envoy. The right must necessarily be restricted by the convenience of the President or sovereign (as the case may be), and by the limitations imposed by constitution in all but the absolute monarchies. Matters of precedence, on occasions of ceremony, are likely to be of little consequence, except to the persons immediately involved.

With Mrs. Cruger's plea for official residences for our diplomatic representatives, all reasonable-minded persons will be in hearty accord. In February, 1897, Mr. Olney, then Secretary of State, transmitted to Congress a report on this subject, based on information supplied by our representatives abroad. It will be interesting to recall some of the statistics then presented.

The list of governments owning official residences at the several foreign capitals was as follows:

Vienna	Germany, Great Britain, Russia.
Brussels	Germany, Great Britain.
Pekin	All the Great Powers except the United States.
Paris	Austria-Hungary, Germany, Great Britain, Russia.
Berlin	Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden.
The Hague	France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan (last two under long leases).
St. Petersburg	Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Turkey (last two have long leaseholds).
Madrid	France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy. Under long leases: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Mexico, Portugal.
Constantinople	All the Great Powers except the United States, including summer residences at Therapia.
Berne	France.
London	Leaseholds from twenty to seventy years by all the Great Powers except the United States.
Teheran	France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Turkey.
Rome	Germany, Great Britain, Turkey.

The United States owns legation buildings only at Tokio, Seoul, Bangkok and Tangier.

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The cost of purchasing residences as estimated by our ministers at the various capitals was as follows:

Vienna	$146,000
Brussels	25,000 to $50,000
Pekin	35,000
Paris	300,000
Berlin	225,000 to 800,000
London	60,000 to 500,000
The Hague	16,000 to 32,000
Lisbon	20,000
St. Petersburg	200,000 to 400,000
Stockholm	35,000 to 40,000
Berne	30,000 to 40,000
Constantinople	100,000
Teheran	15,000 to 20,000
Rome	90,000 to 200,000

The most recent report on this subject is one from acting Secretary of State Loomis, transmitted to Congress on January 8th, 1904, and refers to the purchase of a permanent legation building at The Hague. It is accompanied by a despatch from Minister Newell, of May 6th, 1903, from which we learn that there had been offered to the United States the celebrated De Witt House, so called from having been the home of the brothers De Witt immediately prior to their assassination. It is described as a commodious house of twenty-five rooms, located in the best and most convenient situation in the city for the purpose. The interior is described as being finished in handsome old oak.

With the International Court of Arbitration established at The Hague, is there any doubt, in view of the increasing importance of this post, and the presence from time to time of American members of the arbitration tribunal, that this country should maintain a permanent legation residence at the Dutch capital, where France, Germany, Great Britain and Japan already have buildings of this character? It is not likely that Congress would make an appropriation in a single year for more than one residence, but can there be a better place for beginning than at The Hague? On account of the location of the international court, it is unique among all our legations of lesser rank. The establishment of a permanent home at The Hague would not fail to touch the public sentiment of Europe, and would be to all the nations an additional guaranty of our intention to resort, whenever possible, to the international tribunal.

JAMES F. BARNETT.

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IMPEDIMENTS TO MARRIAGE IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY THE REV. P. J. HAYES, D.D., CHANCELLOR OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK.

THE purpose of the present article is to state succinctly the specific nature and the definite aim of the impediments to marriage according to the teaching and discipline of the Catholic Church. The Rt. Rev. Wm. Croswell Doane, D.D., in the April issue of this REVIEW, under the caption "Remarriage after Divorce," made use of the following language:

> "Rome justifies and practically sanctions what amounts to divorce, although it is not called so, in the freest possible way. . . . The multiplied possibilities of remarriage by innumerable grounds of dispensation and countless definitions of prenuptial impediments are equivalent to the non-Roman or Protestant recognition of divorce from the bond."

This statement is unwarranted by fact.

The Catholic Church teaches that marriage, ordained in the beginning by the Creator, was raised by Christ to the dignity of a sacrament. The experience of the centuries preceding His coming had clearly shown that the purely natural condition of marriage, according to the primeval law, was not sufficient to preserve its unity and indissolubility. The Saviour came to perfect the old law; and, if there was any human institution more than another that needed His grace and blessing, it certainly was marriage. He sanctified the nuptial contract, promulgated its unity and bound it up so closely with Himself that, whenever man and woman plight their troth in Christian marriage, the holy pledge is spoken in His presence and His hand is raised in heavenly benediction upon the union. Marriage then rises above a mundane transaction in the busy mart of men, is enshrined as

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a sacred rite in the sanctuary of the temple and sealed as the symbol of Christ's union with His Church. This sacramental character commits matrimony, both as a religious ceremony and as a contract, to the custody and control of the Church to whom Christ gave authority to guard and administer His sacraments. How different, by contrast, is the Protestant notion of marriage! A secular matter, subject to the jurisdiction of the State, and no more sacramental, as Calvin put it, than "house-building, farming, or shoemaking."

Christ, however, did not change the intrinsic nature of Christian marriage, which still remains in essence a contract, active and passive in principle; the active and efficient cause is the mutual consent; the passive and resultant cause is the indissoluble bond. The contract becomes effective and operative the moment two persons, qualified and free to do so, express their mutual consent to confer on each other the right to the conjugal obligation; the consent thus expressed begets the indissolubility, that cementing and cohesive element which solidifies the contract in a permanent and perpetual state, and irrevocably binds till death the married couple to mutual responsibility and ever-constant fidelity one to the other. The indissolubility of the marriage bond, therefore, bears to the mutual consent the relation of cause to effect; and, once this bond is validly contracted in marriage lawfully celebrated and consummated, it is beyond the power and control of impediment and dispensation either in Church or in State. No decree of ecclesiastical or secular court and no act of parliament or legislature can break the indissoluble tie of Christian marriage. This is the fundamental principle laid down by Christ and always followed by the Catholic Church.

Whether the world acknowledges it or not, the Church has received from her Divine Founder the authority that commands obedience. "He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me" (Luke x, 16). And in the plenitude of her authority to bind and to loose, the Church has placed around marriage certain safeguards in the nature of prohibitions and impediments, in order to preserve the sacredness of marriage and the sanctity of the Christian home.

These impediments are of two kinds: forbidding *(impedientia)* and invalidating *(dirimentia)*. The former make a marriage unlawful, but not invalid; thus, to marry a baptized Protestant with-

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out a dispensation, to marry without religious ceremony or publication of the banns, to solemnize marriage during Advent and Lent, would render the marriage illicit but not invalid. The Church has no power to annul such unions, although the parties thereto are guilty of grievous sin, which after due repentance is forgiven in the Sacrament of Penance. The diriment impediments make a marriage null and void. Blackstone puts it thus:

"These disabilities make the contract void *ab initio*, and not merely voidable; not that they dissolve a contract already formed, but they render the parties incapable of performing any contract at all; they do not put asunder those who are joined together, but they previously hinder the junction, and, if any persons under these legal incapacities come together, it is a meretricious and not a matrimonial union."

This explanation is most important, as these words emphasize more clearly than the writer could state it the antecedent character of these impediments; they affect the right to give consent before the bond is contracted; but, if the marriage contract is valid at the moment of consent, these diriment impediments cannot subsequently dissolve the bond of Christian marriage.

The invalidating impediments, fifteen in number, either arise from the natural, the divine positive law, or are of ecclesiastical origin. The natural law, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, is nothing else than a participation of the eternal law of God existing within us; and to it is due our universal consciousness of the first principles of right and wrong. This natural law, either in its primary sense or in its practical deductions, nullifies a marriage if contracted with any of the following impediments: *Error,* marrying through mistake or fraud the wrong person; *grave fear or forcible abduction,* depriving one of freedom of consent or action under duress; *childhood,* if either of the contracting parties be too young to understand responsibility imposed by marriage; *impotency,* physical incapacity to fulfil the conjugal obligation; and, finally, *consanguinity* of parent and offspring. Fear, abduction and childhood are ecclesiastical impediments in so far as the Church defines the specific conditions; but, practically, they belong to the natural law.

The divine positive law, which is found in the Gospel, has promulgated the impediment of *ligamen,* the indissoluble bond preventing bigamy, polygamy and divorce.

The invalidating impediments of the ecclesiastical law have

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been enacted by the Church from motives of highest prudence, supernatural wisdom, moral propriety and respect for the ideal purity that should adorn the holiest of human relations. Reverence for the Christian home has wisely ordained the impediments of *consanguinity* to the fourth degree (third cousins), of *affinity* to the same degree and of *spiritual* and *legal* relationship. At the sacred threshold of the home, by her command, stands reverence as an angel guardian of purity. Nothing defiled must enter therein. The *horror naturalis* of carnal intercourse with one's own flesh and blood underlies these impediments. There is a difference in kind between the affection a man has for kin and that which he has for his wife. These affections cannot be mingled with impunity. The first is sacred by nature; the second becomes holy by grace. Carnal love will pollute the first, whereas due reverence for its holy character will reflect chastity and purity in marriage. The Church has also in mind the physical advantage to the race from the fusion of distinctly separate blood in families. To blood relationship are akin affinity, spiritual relationship and legal adoption, because of the intimacy which naturally arises from such close association.

The Church's sense of public propriety and justice has created the two disabilities called *publica honestas* and *crimen*. The former prevents, after solemn espousals, marriage of one party with the immediate kin of the other; not infrequently a man engaged to the mother becomes fascinated with the daughter, and *vice versa*. Solemn espousals, however, are of rare occurrence in this country; and a promise of marriage is here only a forbidding impediment. *Crimen* arises from adultery committed with promise of marriage on death of lawful consort, or from the promoting of death to marry accomplice.

The necessity of public and legal formality induced the Council of Trent to decree the law of *clandestinity*, which requires the solemnization of marriage in the presence of the pastor and two witnesses, as clandestine marriage had become a grave abuse. In accord with this intention of the Church are the civil laws of license and registration, in force in nearly every State of the Union to secure publicity. This impediment of clandestinity is not a nullifying one in most parts of the United States.

The writer in his official capacity as chancellor is in a position to state that applications for dispensations from the fore-

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going impediments are few and far between. Our Catholic people are so well instructed that the purpose of these impediments is fully realized in the deep sense of impropriety the faithful have of even contemplating marriage, where one of these impediments exists.

The one impediment above all others the Church has to deal with most frequently in the States arises from the difference of religion in the contracting parties. Too many non-Catholics, indeed, when choosing a wife, are attracted to our Catholic women. These "mixed marriages," as they are called, the Church would fain prevent. As she recognizes Christian baptism wherever she finds it, a marriage of a Catholic with a baptized Protestant is valid, even if contracted without dispensation, and this is called the impediment of mixed religion *(mixta religio)*. But disparity of worship *(disparitas cultus)* nullifies marriage between the baptized and unbaptized. The basis of this impediment, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, is the *distantia* between the two, the immeasurable gap that yawns between the natural and the supernatural order. Moreover, Christian faith is the "pearl of great price," and must not be exposed to the danger of loss by intermarriage with the unbelieving. The Israelites were forbidden by the Mosaic Law to marry the Canaanites for fear of being led to idolatry. St. Paul warns the faithful of Corinth against such intermarriage: "Bear not the yoke with unbelievers": and, again, "let her marry to whom she will: only in the Lord," (2 Cor., vi). The Pauline privilege (1 Cor., vii) is based on the same thought. The Apostle of the Gentiles clearly teaches that the newly converted Christian may leave the unbelieving consort and remarry, if the non-believer is unwilling to respect Christianity, thus becoming a menace to the recently acquired faith of the believer. Our Lord Himself places the value of the faith above all human relations, no matter how close or obligatory in themselves: "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke xiv); that is, the Christian must be prepared to sacrifice all, if it be necessary to do so, in order to retain the true religion. But baptism is absolutely necessary for admission to faith in Christ and sonship with the Father. The words of the Redeemer are very plain: "Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be

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born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of God" (John iii). How shocking, then, to Christian sentiment to find a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dr. Doane, *calling the absence of baptism a mere technicality!*

With divine wisdom, therefore, the Church endeavors to keep her children from intermarrying with those outside her communion, as she has every reason from sad experience to dread the danger of perversion. When the Church does permit these mixed marriages, she always exacts, as an invariable condition, a written promise from the non-Catholic that he will not interfere with his wife or children in the practice of the Catholic religion.

It may be asked why the Church has injected the element of nullity or invalidity into her impediments. Because the graver impediments would have no proportionate sanction. If these impediments did not nullify, the indissoluble bond would be contracted, and thus, in accord with our fundamental principle, the marriage would be valid and beyond the power of the Church's law. Nor could she summon such a marriage before her tribunal for the test of validity.

As to the power of dispensation in the Church, it need hardly be stated that she has no authority to dispense in the invalidating impediments of the natural or the divine positive law. Her authority of dispensation is restricted to the impediments of ecclesiastical origin, and is correlative with the authority that enacted them. "A dispensation, in the strictest sense of the term, is given when the legal obligation, which previously bound both the community and the individual, is removed from the individual, while the law retains its obligatory force over the community with respect to the same subject-matter" (Suarez). The one sole intention of a legislator, if he be wise and prudent, in the enactment and promulgation of any law, must be to conserve the moral order in the community; and, if it should happen, as it will from time to time, that for some reason or other the law fails to accomplish its purpose in a particular case, a dispensation may not only be permitted, but should be granted, for sufficiently reasonable cause. The public good of society or religion and the eternal salvation of souls are the motives that guide the Church in the exercise of this prerogative. As a mother dealing with her children, she can be firm without severity, indulgent without laxity, and partial to the one without injustice to the other. The im-

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pediments are instituted for the general good; the dispensation is granted whenever the best interests of the family are to be served within the proper limitation of right and just law. The discipline of the Church in regard to dispensations is very strict; they are only granted for one or more of the very grave and pressing reasons expressly stated in canon law.

Dispensation must not be confounded with the judicial declaration of annulment by a competent ecclesiastical tribunal. Dispensation is granted directly by the bishop, acting as the delegate of the Holy See; and no judicial procedure is necessary beyond the observance of the usual laws respecting impediments. But a question of fact may arise as to whether one of the parties be free to marry on account of some previous marriage. Neither a bishop, nor much less a priest, will attempt to decide a question of fact without submitting the case to the *curia*. The personnel and process of this tribunal are most formal and juridical. Before a judge appointed by the bishop, the plaintiff submits testimony through a competent advocate, to establish the non-existence of the disability charged, while the validity of the former marriage is presumed and maintained by the "Defender of the Marriage Bond," an official to be found in every diocese, distinguished for his learning, prudence, and experience. The decision of this court neither creates nor abrogates the impediment, but legally determines, after an extended, deliberate and conscientious examination of the testimony, the validity or the invalidity of the marriage as it was in fact at the time it was contracted. Quite frequently, no decision can be reached because it is often impossible to secure the unquestionably convincing testimony required. Although this process entails no little expense, it is open to the poor as well as to the rich; and the most humble working-man may have his cause pleaded gratuitously.

It would be a great mistake to regard in the same light this procedure in the Church with the divorce court instituted by civil law. The Church has ever before her the divine injunction, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," and proceeds with a profound sense of responsibility in conscience to the Eternal Lawgiver. The State, acknowledging no superior authority in this matter, invests its judiciary with the legal power to break asunder the bond of Christian marriage, over which the Church claims no such jurisdiction.

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Divorce and dispensation differ, *toto coelo,* in nature and consequence. Dispensation is antecedent, removing the impediment to make marriage indissoluble till death; divorce is subsequent, dissolving the bond, and it may be repeated again and again by the same parties. Dispensation is granted to conserve morality; divorce is centred in self-interest, if not gratification; and, as Kant has clearly demonstrated, to make self-interest the guardian of morality is to destroy morality. The impediments of the Catholic Church generally arise from permanent conditions in which a man finds himself, and over which he has little if any control; whereas divorce owes its genesis to human weakness and passion. No one lawfully wedded in the Catholic Church can create at will, for example, the impediment of consanguinity; but the opportunity to commit adultery need never be wanting.

The assumption of Bishop Doane that the Catholic Church is ever taking advantage of impediments to dissolve marriage is absurd and contrary to fact. If an ecclesiastical impediment be discovered after marriage, the Church very promptly removes the disability, and heals the marriage for all time. If, as the bishop charges, the impediments and dispensations of the Church are tantamount to divorce, it should be a fact known to all that there are "infinitely more" dissolutions of marriage in the Catholic Church than any other. Let us look into the facts. No general statistics from the various Catholic dioceses of the United States are at hand; but, fortunately, in a work published in 1899, "*Le Mariage devant les Tribunaux Ecclésiastiques*" (Bassibey), we find an official comparison made between the number of annulments in the Church and the number of divorces granted by the State in France, from 1887 to 1896. Prior to 1886, the year in which divorce was legalized in France by an anti-Catholic government against the solemn protest of the Church, only "some few cases" from France were before the S. Congregation of the Council in Rome during a period of eighty years. The divorces in France from 1887 to 1896 numbered about 57,000; in the same period of ten years, 63 petitions for annulment were passed upon by the Church; of this number 16 were declared valid, 47 invalid, of which latter number 37 had never been consummated. Last year, in the City of New York, there were at least 15,000 Catholic marriages, including mixed marriages; and, from experience, it is safe to say that, of these 15,000 marriages, not even five will

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ever be questioned as to validity; and, if there should be five, at least three will be invalid on the ground of bigamy.

It would be an impossible task, within the limited space of this article, to point out fully the "innumerable and countless" errors and mistakes of Bishop Doane. Let it suffice to state that he errs in the following instances: (1) He is in error when he applies such terms as "infinitely more," "innumerable" and "countless" to the number of impediments in the Catholic Church: the fact is that, as has been already said, there are fifteen impediments in all, seven belonging to the natural and the divine positive law, the remaining eight practically reducible to three or four. (2) He is in error when he says: "Rome rebaptizes all converts, and invalidates all baptism but Roman baptism": the Church neither does the one nor can she do the other; she does baptize conditionally when there is doubt as to the validity of the non-Catholic baptism; when the late Rev. Father De Costa, for many years an Episcopalian minister, came into the Catholic Church, his baptism was considered absolutely valid, and he was never rebaptized. The same may be said of Dr. L. Silliman Ives, late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina, who, in his farewell letter to his fellow bishops and clergy, on entering the bosom of the Catholic Church, viewed Rome thus:

"It is due to you and myself, as it is more especially to the cause of God, that I yield, without loss of time, to the promptings of my heart and conscience, and lay before you, as best I can, the reasons which have constrained me to take so serious, and to many dear ones, as well as to myself, so trying a step as that of abandoning the position in which I had acted as a Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church for more than thirty years, and as a Bishop of the same for more than twenty years, and of seeking, at my time of life, admission, as a mere layman, into 'the Holy Catholic Church,' and with no prospect before me but simply peace of conscience, and the salvation of my soul" *(Trials of a Mind)*.

(3) He is in error when he says: "Rome regards as dissoluble marriage between a Catholic and baptized non-Catholic"; as we have already seen, the difference of religion is only an invalidating impediment when the non-Catholic is unbaptized. It may be true that "the defender of the Roman system," as Bishop Doane says, "if cornered by one difficulty, escapes through some other opening": a tyro at chess sometimes is disposed to think that he has cornered his more expert opponent, only to find the latter is entitled to another move which checkmates.

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The facts about the marriage of Louis XII of France are these: Louis XI, the father of Joanna, used violence and imprisonment to compel Louis XII to marry Joanna, a deformed princess from whom Louis XII could never hope for offspring. The marriage was never consummated; and Louis XII had to wait twenty-two years until the death of Charles VIII, who would not suffer the rejection of his sister. As we have seen, violence such as this is an invalidating impediment founded on the natural law. Bishop Doane makes one of the grounds for the annulment the fact that Louis XII and Joanna were fourth cousins; but the fifth degree of consanguinity (fourth cousins) was not an invalidating impediment from the time of the IV Lateran Council, 1215.

As to holding the Catholic Church responsible for the unholy and unclean marriages of Henry VIII, which Bishop Doane does, it might best be answered by saying that the Catholic Church would be held accountable by some people for the sin of Adam, if she were not able to establish a satisfactory alibi. His argument would destroy personal moral responsibility, and God Himself might be censured for the fall of our first parents. Whether Henry VIII be a product of the Roman system or not, he certainly is the progenitor of the Church of England, of which, according to Archdeacon Tiffany, "the Protestant Episcopal Church is the lineal and legitimate descendant."

It is an historical fact that Pius VII never consented to the divorce of Napoleon and Josephine. What the Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury did for Henry VIII, some French bishops did for Napoleon. The words of Leo XIII *("Arcanum")* are here timely:

> "Future ages will admire the courageous documents published by Nicholas I against Lothair, by Urban II and Paschal II against Philip I of France, by Celestine III and Innocent III against Philip II of France, by Clement VII and Paul III against Henry VIII, and, lastly, by Pius VII, that brave and holy Pontiff, against Napoleon I, in the height of his prosperity and power."

Truly, indeed, in the history of the nations the defence of marriage by the Catholic Church has been a constant struggle and a glorious martyrdom for principle, characterized, like the Passion of the Saviour, with "meekness amid insults, patience under injustice, and fortitude against aggression."

P. J. HAYES.

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WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *April, 1905.*

DURING the past month there has been a good deal of talk in England about the Anglo-Japanese Agreement and the prospects and conditions of its renewal. The Agreement, it may be remembered, was signed in London on January 30th, 1902, came into effect immediately, and was to remain in force for five years after that date—that is to say, up to January 30th, 1907. Provision was made for its termination by twelve months' notice on either side, but this provision was modified by an agreement that if, on the date fixed for its expiration, either ally should be actually engaged in war, the Alliance should be continued until the conclusion of peace. The situation, therefore, is this: So long as the war lasts, the Agreement lasts; but, supposing the war to be then at an end, it will be open to any British Cabinet that is in office on January 30th, 1906, to notify Japan that the Agreement is to terminate a year later. The connection between this situation and the exigencies of domestic politics lies, of course, in the fact that on January 30th of next year the present Government may, and probably will, be out of power, and their place may have been taken by the Liberals, who did not frame the Agreement, who never very cordially welcomed it, and who may feel inclined to denounce it. It is these contingent possibilities that have inspired the discussion of the past few weeks and given to it, I need scarcely add, a somewhat factitious and partisan character. The Conservative journals, headed by "The Times," have demanded from the Liberal leaders a point-blank declaration of their views in the matter. But the Liberals have been in Opposition for ten years and are in Opposition now. They cannot, that is, except by hearsay, know all the facts. They have at

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present absolutely no diplomatic standing, can neither make nor receive overtures on any sure and recognized basis, are debarred both from opening and from entering into the necessary *pourparlers*, and are, besides, well within their rights and the essential proprieties of the situation in declining to commit themselves in advance on so delicate and complex a question. Most of the Liberal leaders have, therefore, met with unaccommodating silence the attempt to extract from them at this stage a definite assurance. Lord Rosebery, however, who, whether he is a leader or not, speaks on foreign affairs with more authority than any other Liberal, announced a few weeks ago that "the great probability is that, when the Alliance was to be renewed, supposing it to be renewed on terms not unfavorable to this country, the gentlemen who would then be intrusted with the government of the country would feel it their duty and honor to continue the Treaty." This declaration was really quite unnecessary. Partisanship itself cannot affect to misunderstand the sense of the country on this momentous issue. The British people have willed a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese compact as unanimously as France and the French people declared for the Dual Alliance long before it was consummated. It is a question they have taken out of the hands of officialdom and made their own; one that they have thought out on its merits and apart from any consideration of urgency; one that may be said to mark a really national introduction to the study of foreign affairs, and the beginnings of a really national policy. Just as England has revolted from the pro-German tendencies that for the last thirty years have directed, or misdirected, her foreign policy; just as she has pronounced clearly and repeatedly in favor of closer and ever closer relations with the United States and France: so she has unmistakably indicated the course that is to be followed in regard to the Agreement with Japan. There is nothing to be feared on this score from a Liberal Government. It may be taken as axiomatic that both England and Japan stand ready to renew their Alliance. The question, in that preliminary aspect of it, may be looked upon as settled.

But another and a graver question arises. The compact is to be continued—but upon what terms? It may be urged, and many do urge, that that is a point which it is altogether premature to debate at present. The conditions that will determine it have yet to come into existence. Until we know the terms of peace and

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can gauge their probable effects on Far-Eastern and other politics, it is a mere speculation in assumptions even to consider the possibility of altering the terms of the present Agreement. The war, again, is not yet over, and it may conceivably drag on for a couple of years longer—by the withdrawal, for instance, of the Russian troops to the Baikal region, while a new and overwhelming fleet is being built. Moreover, there is an entire ignorance as to how far the Continental Powers may feel inclined or impelled to take a hand in the peace negotiations. Objections such as these are constantly being brought forward to shut down discussion of the conditions on which the Agreement should be renewed. Nevertheless, discussion continues; and it must, I think, be very evident to a looker-on that the way is being prepared, not merely for the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement, but for its expansion—its development, in fact, into an offensive and defensive alliance that would guarantee, by the whole force of both Powers, the Asiatic possessions of each.

I may briefly indicate the arguments that are employed to recommend this far-reaching project to the British people. There are, it is said, four courses which it is possible to pursue in regard to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. It may be denounced, it may be renewed as it stands, it may be modified, or it may be strengthened and enlarged. Nobody, as I have said, dreams of its denunciation. Both by policy and inclination, the British people are absolutely committed to continuing it. Should it, then, be renewed on its present terms? To do that, it is contended, would be to commit an anachronism. It would amount to judging Far-Eastern problems in 1905 or 1906 as though nothing had occurred since 1902 to alter them, as though there had been no war, as though the collapse of Russia were an insignificant detail, as though the situation of to-day and of the immediate future were in all respects what it was three or four years ago. The "Outlook" recently put these points as forcibly as they can be put:

"What in 1902 were contingencies to be guarded against have become in 1905, some of them actualities, others impossibilities; and calculations based on what might be have now to be revised in the light of what is. It would, for instance, be little less than meaningless for Great Britain and Japan to renew those portions of the Agreement that dealt with Corea. Corea is now in safe hands; Corea has ceased, since 1902, to be an international issue; and the references to it in the Agreement have now a merely historical interest. The very fact that a compact which

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was arranged 'to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East' has failed to maintain either, is in itself a supreme argument against renewing it on the old terms—unless, indeed, we intend its renewal to have no real meaning, and no relationship to the facts of to-day and of the immediate future, and to be rather an exchange of compliments than a serious and deliberate stroke of policy. Such, of course, is neither the British nor the Japanese intention; and no absurdity could well be greater than for the statesmanship of either country to pretend that everything is as it was in 1902, and that the greatest event in Far-Eastern history leaves the conditions and problems of the Far East sublimely unchanged."

The advocates of an offensive and defensive Alliance proceed to argue that everything which tells against the renewal of the Agreement on its old terms, tells just as strongly against its renewal in a more modified form. If, they ask, the Agreement was too weak to preserve the peace, how shall we better matters by making it weaker still? In short, they are seeking to convince the country that, when the war is over, Great Britain and Japan will have reached a point where the present Agreement between them will either have to be discarded or strengthened. They maintain that, as it stands now, it is outworn, and inapplicable to the conditions that have arisen since its negotiation; that to abridge it is virtually to nullify it; and that nothing, therefore, remains but its abandonment or its expansion. By converting it into an instrument that will bind Great Britain and Japan to go to each other's assistance, if attacked in Asia, not, as now, by two Powers, but by a single Power, they hold that both nations stand to gain. Such an Alliance, they argue, would give to Japan that final and absolute security which, for an island-kingdom, can only reside in an overwhelming naval supremacy. All, and more than all, that the Dual Alliance has been to France, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would be to Japan. So long as it existed, whatever settlement the present war may end in would have the vital assurance of permanence. To reopen it at a moment, or under conditions, unfavorable to Japan, would then become both a physical and a political impossibility, and the Mikado's subjects would be left free to husband their resources and consolidate their interests in China and Corea in undistracted tranquillity. Reasons of finance, politics and strategy combine, in short, to reinforce and commend the advantages which Japan would derive from a hard and fast alliance with the strongest naval Power in the world.

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Nor, it is said, would the bargain be one-sided. Driven back from the Pacific, Russia, unless all Russian history is a lie, will infallibly seek compensation elsewhere; nor is it safe to assume that a reorganized and "liberalized" Russia will seek it less eagerly than the autocratic Russia of the present and the past. The only compensation that will permanently satisfy her ambitions lies in the direction of Constantinople or of the Persian Gulf or of the Indian frontier. Those who read, in last month's issue of this REVIEW, the masterly and comprehensive article by "Anglo-Indian" will have obtained a clear idea of the difficulties that confront Lord Kitchener and Lord Curzon on the North-west frontier. Are those difficulties likely to be increased or diminished as the result of the collapse of Russia in the Far East? Will the menace of a Russian invasion be less or greater than it was, should Russia be forced to abandon, for another decade at least, her scheme of expansion in Northern Asia? That is a question which it would require a very considerable knowledge of Russian history and of Russian internal conditions to answer at all adequately, as well as a greater hardihood in political speculation than I can plead guilty to. I therefore abstain from suggesting any answer on my own responsibility, and content myself with setting down such opinions as I have been able to gather from more or less authoritative sources. These opinions may be summarized in the general statement that, while the immediate menace is held to be less, the ultimate menace is considered greater than it was; that Russia, while undeniably weakened by the war, will recover her strength; and that, if her path is barred in the Far East, she will be all the more likely to turn her attention towards Afghanistan or the Persian Gulf. This, evidently, is the conclusion which the Government have adopted. The military estimates, which, as I write, are being debated in the House of Commons, are based upon the assumption that Great Britain must be prepared in future to provide a much larger number of troops to meet the Russian peril on the Indian frontier than were ever before contemplated. In other words, so far as the Anglo-Japanese Agreement has helped Japan to hurl Russia from the Pacific, it is just as likely that we in England, and not the Japanese, may be the chief sufferers by the recoil. The enthusiasts for the projected Alliance make the utmost of this argument. It is, indeed, the keystone of their contention. Their premises

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may, of course, be disputed, but scarcely their conclusions. Once admitting that further precautions are necessary or advisable, it is all but undeniable that no precaution could be more instantaneously or more lastingly effective than an Alliance that would weld together the military prowess of Japan and the naval might of Great Britain. Such an Alliance would, in all human probability, succeed, where the palliative of the Agreement failed; it would not only keep the peace, it would irresistibly impose it.

It is far too early to say that the British people have come to any definite conclusion on this great problem; but they are turning it over, and there are not wanting signs that they are well disposed towards the bolder solution. On the other hand, I hardly think it premature to say that their minds are already made up on a correlated issue of not less complexity and moment—I mean the peace negotiations. It is perfectly clear to any one who really knows England that the temper of the country will not tolerate any attempt, on the part of European Powers, to repeat the stratagem of ten years ago and rob Japan of the fruits of her victory. Great Britain is determined, if the need arises, to stand by Japan in demanding and obtaining that security for which the Mikado went to war, and without which he will not make peace. I do not by that mean it to be understood that this country would necessarily support Japan on the indemnity question. She might or she might not; but, apart from that, she is certainly prepared to join with Japan in resisting, let us say, a proposal to convert Manchuria and Corea into neutral buffer-states under a guarantee of all the Powers, or to place the Manchurian railway under international control. If Japan decides that her future is liable to be jeopardized unless the Russians retire from Manchuria and abandon Port Arthur, Vladivostok and Saghalin, she would not rely upon Great Britain in vain for such assistance as might be necessary to prevent "third parties" from attempting to whittle down these stipulations. That, I think, may be taken as axiomatic, nor does it involve any rupture, temporary or permanent, in the admirably cordial and sympathetic relations that now exist between Great Britain and France. The Kaiser's challenge to the Anglo-French *entente* in Morocco has merely had the result of drawing the two countries closer together. Their colonial policies have been harmonized; their European policy—the isolation, namely, of Germany—is identical; and the future may

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easily convert the Anglo-French Agreement of a year ago into an instrument of a more binding and lasting character. The foreign policy of Great Britain is, indeed, at this moment singularly free, spacious and progressive. Englishmen turn to the consideration of their external affairs with relief from the round of small intrigues and mystifications to which Mr. Balfour has reduced their domestic politics.

ST. PETERSBURG, *April, 1905.*

RUSSIA in her present condition may aptly be compared to a squirrel turning a treadwheel in a capacious cage, vigorously striking the treadle with its feet, but making no advance whatever. She cannot be said to be in a state of lethargy or quiescence; on the contrary, she displays plenty of thought and action; her nerves and muscles are brought into vigorous play, and the resulting movement is brisk and continuous. But there is no advance. She has not moved forward, is not moving forward swiftly or slowly: where she was when she first awoke from the coma of ages last summer, there she is at this present moment. It is a spectacle which may well be termed tragic: in the foreground a nation of 140 millions struggling forward with all their might towards the Promised Land; and, away in the background, a dim, shadowy figure holding them back by virtue of a mystic and almost magic power.

Every element of the population has deliberately recorded its belief that things can no longer go on as they have been and still are going on, that there must be a radical and a speedy change. After some fruitless resistance, the Tsar himself, in manifestoes and ukases, repeated these propositions in language appropriate to a ruler, and admitted that reform was an imperious necessity, a question of life or death, seeing that law had for generations been supplanted by caprice and order was being maintained by brute force. And he undertook that all this should be thoroughly remedied. Then came the further promises that to thoroughness speed should be added. But these undertakings have not yet been fulfilled. Far from that, there are good grounds for believing that no intention exists of carrying them out. In other words, the history of all struggles between kings and peoples is repeating itself in Russia, and the people can hope for nothing but what it wrests from the Tsar.

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That was clearly evidenced by the last two documents which issued from the pen of the Autocrat of all the Russias. In the first of these, which was the result of a spontaneous impulse, the Emperor announces his determination to withstand the encroachment of democracy on his unlimited power. The heads of the Liberal movement are described therein as evil-minded leaders blinded by pride, "who make insolent attacks upon the Holy Orthodox Church and the lawfully established pillars of the Russian State." The people are adjured to turn from those godless spirits and rally round the throne. Feeble words, which, if they have any meaning at all, constitute a solicitation to national suicide! That document was conceived in secret and published in haste. The very ministers and official advisers, whom the Tsar had publicly charged with the task of solving the whole question of reforms, were kept in ignorance of Nicholas's intention to issue it, and they knew nothing of it until they read it in print. Nay, the law was deliberately broken in order to enable His Majesty to have it printed in the "Government Messenger." According to the statute, the manifesto ought to have been presented to the Senate before being set in type; but, by an expeditious use of the telephone, the responsible editor of the "Government Messenger" was ordered to break the law. To all his protests, the answer was returned: "It is His Majesty's desire." Considering that, no further back than last Christmas Day, His Majesty himself had expressly stated in his ukase that law was one of the pillars of Autocracy, and that he was resolved to restore its reign and suppress administrative caprice at all costs, it is natural that this illegal act should have caused a painful impression and produced a demoralizing effect. For the responsible editor had to be publicly reprimanded and privately thanked.

But the manifesto was itself as reprehensible as the manner in which it was promulgated. That was, at least, the opinion of the ministers, who resolved among themselves to oppose force to cunning, and to oblige Nicholas II to undo by means of a second document the mischief which he had produced by the first. It was a unique combination, and, six months ago, it would have caused the dismissal and disgrace, and probably the banishment from St. Petersburg, of the insolent dignitaries. But Nicholas II, taken by surprise, had to sign the rescript, drawn up by M. Witte long before, and in this way to condemn in the evening the doctrines

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which he had preached in the morning. It was the first public humiliation which any Tsar ever yet endured.

But Nicholas II was not put out by that rebuff. He had his view adopted by the Holy Orthodox Church and his manifesto read from all the altars throughout the Empire. The manifesto, but not the rescript. The rescript which announces the Tsar's resolve to convene the worthiest men "possessing the confidence of the people, and elected by them to participate in the elaboration and consideration of legislative measures," was tabooed. Priests and pastors were silent about it, monarchist journals ignored it and the police would have suppressed it as they had suppressed the imperial ukase of December in some parts of the Empire because it was a concession to the Liberals. "The Emperor ought not to have written such things," a censor once said to a journalist who wished to reproduce a speech of Alexander II. And the comments of the priests on the unctuous manifesto were mischievous. In that document, the Tsar reminded all authorities of their duties and their service-oath, and called upon them "to display increased solicitude in the safeguarding of law, order and security." These words were construed by priests and police as an exhortation to spread and intensify coercion. And this was a virtual declaration of war between ruler and ruled. Since then, the police has carried out the supposed recommendation, and contemporary Russian history is made up of the results. On the one hand, the guardians of order, including the Church officials, endeavor by every means, licit and illicit, to stem the popular current which threatens to sweep away Autocracy; and, on the other hand, the Russian people strives, by dint, now of peaceful agitation, now of violent acts, to intimidate a group which it can neither persuade nor convince. Hence, newspapers are suppressed; educated citizens are being put in prison; public lectures are being forbidden; doctors, lawyers, engineers are threatened with severe penalties if they meet in congress; physicians must not concert measures against the cholera; detectives and Cossacks drive the audience out of theatres, surround schools, attack prisoners, search private dwellings and, in many respects, treat the people as a conquered race. And the people are not behindhand in confronting force with force: revolutionary leaflets, anti-governmental journals, strikes, associations, plots, political assassinations and agrarian riots are some of the forms of opposition resorted to by the nation.

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Class has been incited against class, nationality embittered against nationality by the police acting in the supposed interests of the Autocracy. The clergy, too, as mere officials, seconded the efforts of the detectives, and in the name of the Deity egged on one element of the population against another. The "intellectuals"—they assured their flocks—had been bribed by Japan and England to rebel against the Tsar and ought, therefore, to be suppressed without ruth. They deserve the fate of Judas or worse. And in some cases the congregations, whose passions were thoroughly roused, went straight from the church to the schools and attacked them. The priests who thus made mischief were not rural clergymen only; in many cases, they were responsible clerics who ought to have known better. The Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Minsk, for example, likened to the devil all subjects of the Tsar who desired a legislative assembly. They were tempting, he said, the Lord's Anointed, as the Evil One had tempted Jesus Christ. Nicholas II must have regarded it in the same light; for, after having yielded to the temptation, he repented. In Saratoff, money was offered by agents of the police to the scum of the populace by way of inducing them to fall foul of students. In Pskoff, the guardians of public order hired ruffians for a quarter of a dollar to beat the intellectuals, and then paid them only fifteen cents. They went still further: for, disguising themselves as doorkeepers, roughs and tramps, they themselves took a very active part in the fray. In St. Petersburg, the Superintendent of Police summoned all the doorkeepers of the houses in his ward, and offered them prize-money of from one to two dollars for "taking by the scruff of the neck and dragging in here to me every one who talks about the Government, and every one who looks suspicious." To be a student or a scholar, or to belong to the intelligent classes, is now a crime. To talk about the Government is treason.

What befalls the people who get into the clutches of the police is often worse than what happened to them when Plehve was all-powerful. If they escape with a thorough beating, they may consider themselves not unlucky: in a few cases they are said to disappear altogether.

Nor is it only in provincial towns that this flagrant breach of law has been raised to the level of a system by the "Tsar's brigade," as the police has been called. In St. Petersburg and Mos-

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cow, the practice is the same. A few days ago, a lady walking along one of the thoroughfares of St. Petersburg saw a woman gazing now at one, now at another, of the passers-by with an imploring look, as though she desired, yet feared, to confide her troubles to them. The lady then asked whether anything had gone wrong with her; whereupon she fell a-sobbing, and for a time could make no reply. Finally, she said: "My husband . . . is gone. He was a workman. . . . in the Putiloff Works here. . . Several days ago, he was sent for by the police, and he went to the station. . . . Since then he has not come back. And I am alone now. . . . I mean not alone. . . . I have two children in arms, but there is no one to work for them." Asked what her husband had done, she could give no answer. She only knew that he had never been accused of any offence. She wanted to find out whether he would be tried or set free or banished. But her desire was vain. "Police violence is in vogue in Samara," writes one of the principal newspapers of Russia; "the police is addicted to pummelling at all times in the streets and in the torture-cells of the temporary gaol. . . . Murders, robberies, larcenies, assaults by roughs are daily occurrences. And the police is either unable or unwilling to discover the perpetrators; nay, it refuses to protect the victims during the attacks."

How the Tsar's friends can permit the monarch thus to forfeit the affection and esteem of his subjects who still entertain these sentiments towards him, is an enigma. But they go further: they encourage an innovation which even Plehve never ventured to introduce. Law was formerly restricted or abolished by high dignitaries or such imperial institutions as the Council of Ministers. Now it is being circumscribed or repealed by the police. On the 3rd of March last, Nicholas II bestowed upon his people the right of forwarding petitions to the Government respecting imperial needs. This right he conferred upon individuals and institutions. Sixteen days later, the principal men of letters in Russia agreed to meet and draw up a petition to the Government. But the police forbade the meeting; and, when the authors pointed to the Tsar's ukase, the Prefect answered: "I am empowered to interpret that document as bestowing the right of petition upon private persons *singly*, but it does not authorize several persons to meet and discuss."

The other concessions of Nicholas II are being construed in a

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similar restrictive fashion. The labor commission which he created under the chairmanship of Senator Shidloffsky was dissolved, because the Government, having ordered the workmen to choose representatives, refused to guarantee the elected spokesmen immunity from arrest. The commission which he appointed to consider the advisability of freeing the press from restrictions still sits regularly in one building, while in another, not far away, newspapers are being gagged, correct information being suppressed and misleading data circulated.

That is why scant faith is expressed or felt by the Tsar's subjects in his promise of a legislative assembly. People hold that Nicholas II is generous of promises and chary of fulfilment. The historic rescript of March 3rd was to usher in a new era. The people and the Autocracy were to draw near to each other, the wolf to dwell with the lamb, and the bureaucracy, which served as a partition separating monarch and people, was to be cut down. In reality, the hand of the bureaucracy has been made stronger than before, the press has been effectively muzzled, law has been superseded by police caprice and the last state of Russia is much worse than the first. If any hopes had been entertained that the Minister of the Interior would make reasonable haste and embody the concession in a working institution, it has been dispelled by the Government communication of the last day of March. That hazy document deprives the Special Commission which was to have organized a legislative assembly of the right of fulfilling its destination. It transfers that right to the Council of Ministers —a subservient body under the presidency of Nicholas II—and puts off practical measures to St. Tibb's Eve.

Such are the tactics of the Government: systematized cunning and organized force employed without regard to consequences. And congruously with those tactics the methods of the people were regulated. At first, timid requests, humble petitions, respectful remonstrances. These, being soon forbidden, were succeeded by passive resistance in the form of strikes. And after the massacre of unarmed people by the troops, Russia entered upon the last stage: force combined with fanaticism and ruse. At present, obnoxious officers, civil servants and police officials are being shot at sight, just as dangerous characters used to be "potted" by the gold-diggers of the Wild West. And the men who execute them, sure of public approbation, are seldom caught red-handed, and

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hardly ever traced later on. A bullet in lieu of a leading article, a bomb instead of a humble petition. And the authorities are literally powerless. Nobody now asks their authorization, few heed their prohibitions. The people throughout Russia proper, as in the Caucasus, is become a law unto itself. What, a short time ago, would have been a treasonable conspiracy is now a national strike, for what the authorities were powerless to hinder they have condescended to approve—*post factum*.

It was thus that professors and students struck work throughout the Empire, resolving not to resume occupation before September. The Minister of Public Instruction—a military man of modest cultural acquirements—threatened to punish them with the utmost severity of the law. To no purpose. Then Majesty bestirred itself. The Tsar ordered the Minister to inform the professors that it was his will they should return to their lecture-rooms without more ado, and, at the same time, he bade the Committee of Ministers to give the matter their early and earnest consideration. Of punishments, he added, they were not to be chary, in case argument should prove ineffectual. But Witte, the grim President, demurred. The University question, he said, was but an aspect of the Russian problem, and should not be dealt with apart from that. Meanwhile, the professors in European and Asiatic Russia again deliberated and again refused to yield. The Ministry might refuse to pay them their salary or might punish them, as it would, but they would not be false to their convictions. Then the Government yielded.

And now a feeling of solidarity is growing up among all the literate subjects of the Tsar. The liberal professions are banded together as one man. All the engineers of Russia form a league, which has been vainly prohibited by the police. The lawyers are preparing to form an association of their own, with ramifications all over the Tsardom. The professors of Universities and High Schools are about to organize themselves into a corporate body, with a president, a council and a fund, to demand academic autonomy and liberty of teaching. The doctors, who have just met together in congress to concert measures against the cholera, have declared that the common people have been rendered rebellious to medical advice, in consequence of the legend inculcated by the clergy and the police that the educated classes have been bribed by the Japanese and British. Therefore, to help the people

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against the cholera, their confidence must first be won back, and that can be done only by the press, which ought to be freed from all irksome restrictions. Even the Zemstvos are agitating for a central club. In a few months, therefore, the intelligent classes will be leagued together against ignorance and oppression.

But, meanwhile, the illiterate masses, the workmen and the peasants, may rise; nay, according to all trustworthy forecasts, will rise in May—and this time to strike a serious blow. The operatives, who are not wholly unorganized, know exactly what they want, and understand why they failed to obtain it last January. Hence in May they mean to use force against force. Rifles and revolvers, even, if they could procure them, would make but a poor show against quick-firing guns; therefore, they are determined, it is said, to carry hand-bombs, called "tangerines" because they are no bigger than small oranges. It is a resolution fraught with calamitous results, moral as well as physical, to the whole Russian people. Never before has a revolution been carried on with the help of such destructive engines, and it may well be doubted whether ever before the ethical principles of a nation underwent such a serious modification as is involved in the frank approval of political assassination. A general strike, then, and a series of dynamite outrages are the programme for May.

What the peasantry will do is included in no programme, predicted in no forecast. They are one of the incalculable forces of the revolution. Almost indifferent to political privileges, they are eager to obtain possession of the land. The long-fostered notion that it is theirs by right is now a settled conviction, for which, when they come together in bands, they are willing to fight like heroes or die like martyrs. Already, they have laid waste vast estates, looted manors and country houses, and burned sugar refineries to the ground in eleven States or Governments. Competent authorities on the subject affirm that in Spring the movement will spread with elemental force. In some places, the tillers of the soil announce that they will not allow the landowners to sow their fields in Spring. In several districts, they have cut down the timber belonging to the squires, carted away their corn, taken and sold their hay. In a few villages of the Government of Chernigoff, they are said to have used "tangerines." In the Baltic provinces, they have upset all order and reduced the administration of the rural districts to a chaotic

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welter. Landowners are fleeing to the cities. Troops are being despatched to the villages: gendarmes have been attacked and defeated by armed bands in the south.

All this might have been hindered a few months ago. It might still be moderated to-day, if there were a statesman in power capable of uttering the magic word. But Witte is under a black cloud. Nicholas II is his own statesman and Russia must endure her fate. He holds that the Autocracy is indispensable to Russia, just as Russian domination in the Pacific is indispensable to the world. In order that he may be right, all Russia must be wrong in one case, and the whole world in the other.

BERLIN, *April, 1905.*

ONCE more the eyes of Europe are focussed on the German Emperor, who after a period of comparative retirement has reappeared, with dramatic suddenness, in the foreground of World-Politics. The scene of his reappearance was Tangier, which he visited on March 31st with the object of proclaiming that Morocco —in defiance of Anglo-French Declarations and Hispano-French Secret Conventions—must remain "a free and independent country." In order properly to appreciate the sensational action of the German sovereign, it is necessary to recall for a few moments some of the events of the past year, beginning with the month of April, when the Anglo-French understanding was first made public. Incredible as it may appear, it is yet a fact that the German Government steadfastly refused, until the last moment, to believe in the possibility of such an understanding. It pinned its faith resolutely to the Bismarckian maxim of the irreconcilableness of Anglo-French interests, as represented by Egypt, on the one hand, and Tunis and Morocco, on the other. On that maxim was first constructed the theory of German foreign policy, which was to distract France from her "hypnotic preoccupation" with the "hole in the Vosges," by creating interests and enemies for her elsewhere. By inciting France to seize Tunis, Bismarck, as he more than once boasted, designed to place a permanent strain on her relations with Italy, in the same way as he hoped, by encouraging the British occupation of Egypt, to erect an insuperable barrier between Great Britain and France. For many years, events justified the German calculations. Italy was fettered to the Triple Alliance by her apprehensions for the future of

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Tripoli, which is menaced from Tunis, while Great Britain was bound to Italy by the tie of mutual antagonism to France. The Fashoda incident shed a flood of light on the Teutonic standpoint. It brought Great Britain and France to the brink of war; and, amid the din of the conflict, the voice of Germany could be plainly heard exhorting France to note that Great Britain was, after all, the only "hereditary enemy." France appreciated the message at its true worth, settled her quarrel with Great Britain, and, under the sagacious guidance of M. Delcassé, set to work to balk the German tactics. She negotiated an understanding with Italy, whose right of preemption to the Turkish province of Tripoli she confirmed, in exchange for Italy's recognition of the preeminence of French interests in Morocco. Germany, though her stake in Morocco was considerable, did not for the moment take alarm. She gazed indulgently on her Italian partner's "extra dance," as Count von Bülow styled it, and exultantly rubbed her hands in the thought that the Southern Pillar of Hercules would now prove a fatal source of discord between Paris and London. But, in the mean time, Anglo-German antagonism, fed by the South-African War, had assumed formidable proportions, and in the soil of common hostility to Germany were sown the seeds of the Anglo-French understanding. Germany was not quite blind to the growth of affairs, but she relied on the Far-Eastern War to devastate the diplomatic harvest which the British and French Governments were bent on gathering. She was convinced that, as long as that war lasted, harmony between the allies of the belligerents was an impossibility. And it was in this conviction that the German Emperor started last year on his Mediterranean cruise. He visited Spain and Italy, but, to his chagrin, encountered the influence of France in both countries. He passed on to Malta, and amused himself by inspecting the British naval forces at that station. He had already telegraphed his congratulations to King Edward on their efficiency, when the announcement reached him that the Anglo-French Agreement was perfect. The Emperor was dumfounded. Vainly he sought for consolation in the text of the Agreement, which was forwarded to him with all possible speed: its contents shattered his most cherished theories of the Balance of Power, and brought him face to face with the phantom of German isolation. To allay that phantom, he planned a chance meeting with President Loubet, who was then on his way

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to visit the Emperor's Italian "ally." But, though the "Hohenzollern" hovered about the coast for several days, it failed to gain a glimpse of the Presidential yacht, which had purposely given it a wide berth. In a mood of intense irritation, the Kaiser cut short his tour, and hurriedly returned to the Fatherland; for he was by this time convinced that a gigantic anti-German plot was in process of being hatched, and that the diplomacy of France was establishing a coalition which would be capable, not only of ignoring Germany's interests in Morocco, but also of countering her policy in Europe and Asia Minor. He gave vent to his anxieties in a series of explosive speeches, which he delivered close to the French border. At Carlsruhe he eloquently invoked the *memories of Wörth, Weissenburg and Sedan.* "*I hope,*" *he said,* "that our peace will not be disturbed, but the events which are now agitating the world seem designed to admonish us . . . to steel our courage, and clear our eyes in view of the necessity, which may be imposed upon us, of intervening in the politics of the world." In his oration at Mayence he was even more explicit. After alluding again to the prospects of a breach of the European peace, he dwelt on the strategic value of the new bridge over the Rhine, which he had that morning opened to traffic. He was sure, he said, that the bridge would stand Germany in good stead, should she ever be obliged to pass her columns across it. These sombre utterances were vigorously exploited by the Pan-German orators. Germany, these political freebooters exclaimed, had an indefeasible right to a naval port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco; and, if the Sultanate was to be divided, she must also claim a strip of territory adapted to the purposes of colonization. To achieve these ends, Germany must defy France and, in the Imperial phrase, promptly "intervene in the politics of the world." As usual, the Emperor's eloquence had been misunderstood. He was far from advocating offensive diplomatic operations at that juncture. Imbued with the idea that he was isolated, he had, indeed, decided upon a waiting policy. But, in order that the nation might appreciate his attitude, he caused to be widely circulated throughout the Empire a symbolical illustration of the situation. In that picture, which forthwith decorated the shop-windows of the Capital, the Kaiser was depicted, in pilot's uniform, at the helm of the good ship "Deutsches Reich." Around the stout vessel a terrible hurricane was raging; the waves were of engulfing

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volume; but, in the look of alert determination which marked the features of the pilot, lay the assurance that the storm would be safely weathered.

The waiting policy endured for nearly a year. In the interval, France had propounded the doctrine of "pacific penetration." She had assumed responsibility, in the eyes of the majority of nations, for the maintenance of order in the Sultanate. With Spain she had concluded a Secret Convention, providing, so it is supposed, for the division of Morocco into spheres of influence, with Tangier and Tetuan as the Spanish share, at the end of thirty years. And to Fez the Republic had despatched a special Ambassador, charged with the task of securing assent to a root and branch scheme of reforms. The Sultan, however, tenacious of his power, expressed invincible objections to the improvements urged upon him by the French. The Ambassador grew impatient, and ended by informing the young monarch that he was the mandatory of Europe, which required the prompt acceptance of its proposals. The Sultan, who, like others of his race, is gifted with a keen scent for dissension, ran without delay to the German Consul and inquired if the Emperor had authorized the French Ambassador to speak in his name. The answer, of course, was in the negative. A telegram was forthwith despatched by the Consul to Berlin, containing the gist of the French scheme, which was designed to secure the appointment of French agents to control the finances and administer the customs of the Sultanate. These measures were deemed in the German Capital to infringe upon the principle of the "open door," and it was decided to punish the *faux pas* committed by the French diplomatist. Had the incident occurred a few months previously, it is highly probable that the German Government would have remained quiescent; for it was then in the throes of a war panic, fostered by the insane belief that Great Britain and France were planning a combined attack on Germany. But the statesmen on the Spree had recovered somewhat from their alarms, and were becoming increasingly sensitive to the inconvenience of M. Delcassé's diplomacy, which, in Turkey as in Morocco, was strictly hostile to the interests of Germany. They planned a demonstration. The Kaiser, it was announced, had made arrangements to visit Tangier in the course of his Mediterranean tour. Some days elapsed before the true significance of this announcement was grasped in Paris. For this,

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perhaps, the main responsibility must be laid at the door of the Emperor, who, on the eve of his departure from the Fatherland, delivered an oration on his most recent conception of World-Politics.

To judge from his utterances on that occasion, William II was in anything but an aggressive mood. Instead of speaking, as usual, in terms of "mailed fists" and "eagle's talons," he dwelt, in a spirit of religious fervor, on the vanity of aiming at territorial expansion. With the spectacle of the Russian downfall before his eyes, he informed his hearers that he had sworn a solemn oath never to strive for the Suzerainty of the world. Alexander the Great, Napoleon the First and other heroes of military history, he observed, had deluged the earth in blood in their pursuit of universal dominion: the World-Empire, of which he, the German Emperor, dreamed, would, however, be based not on the conquests of the sword, but on the confidence of other nations in its neighborly love of peace, its integrity and sense of justice. Though interesting psychologically, on account of its Cæsarian conceptions, the speech could scarcely be considered effective when regarded as the prelude to diplomatic action. Count von Bülow, in the hope of correcting the somewhat lame impression created by the Imperial utterances, fell into the opposite extreme. He dictated to the newspapers a semi-official note of a highly polemical character.

In that note, he accused the French Foreign Minister of having deliberately ignored the German Empire in his treatment of the Moroccan question. To this day, he observed, the Berlin Foreign Office was officially ignorant of the contents of the Anglo-French Declaration; but there was still time, he hinted, for the French Minister to correct his omission before the Emperor arrived at Tangier. To this hint M. Delcassé replied with the assertion, made through the Paris press, that, so far as he was aware, there was a German Embassy in the French Capital, and that, if Count von Bülow desired to obtain any information from him, he could do so by employing the Ambassador for the purpose. For the rest, he affirmed that he had given Prince Radolin, the German Ambassador, the most ample assurances on the subject of the Moroccan Declaration, as early as the Spring of 1904, and that the Chancellor had himself taken cognizance of the Declaration in his Reichstag speeches. Count von Bülow rejoined that he

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could not regard as binding the assurances of a Foreign Minister, vaguely made in casual conversation with an Ambassador; and that the German Government, in the absence of explicit statements from Paris, intended to guard its interests by means of direct negotiations with the Sultan of Morocco, who was an independent sovereign. The controversy was continued with acrimony, and was only prevented from assuming a perilous character by the fiction, which was preserved on both sides, that it was merely an affair of newspapers. Finally, Prince Radolin left the French Capital ostensibly on a holiday; but the real object of his departure, so the German journals explained, was to relieve Germany, in the eyes of the Sultan, of even the suspicion of a desire to arrive at a separate understanding with France regarding Morocco.

The Emperor reached Tangier on March 31st. He was received with operatic honors. The uncle of the Sultan welcomed him as the political savior of Morocco; and Raissuli, the Brigand Chieftain and Head Kidnapper of European and American millionaires, was equally effusive.

But the operatic character of the reception accorded to him failed to divest the day of its political significance. To the Sultan's uncle, as to the German colony of traders, the Emperor observed that he regarded Morocco as a "free and independent country." It was essential, he added, that all nations should enjoy equal rights within its borders, and that no one nation should be allowed to establish a predominant influence over its development. Can, will, the Emperor make good these words? By uttering them at a critical juncture in the negotiations at Fez, he has, beyond all doubt, disturbed in a most disagreeable manner the progress of French ambitions. He has excited the fanaticism of the tribes against the reform scheme, against all innovations; he has encouraged the Sultan to reject definitely the overtures of the French Ambassador. But it is doubtful if he has accomplished anything more. Morocco is not Turkey, where, by currying favor with the monarch, the Germans have managed to gain considerable advantages over their commercial rivals. Morocco is a land divided against itself, held together solely by its hatred of Western influences. Any day the Sultan may be swept away by the forces of insurrection, and Anarchy will reign, if possible, still more supreme. The French will then be compelled to intervene.

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Their task will be one of endless difficulty, but the German Emperor will be powerless, except at the expense of war, to obstruct them. For the promotion of foreign trade, it is essential that Morocco shall be forced along the path of progress and civilization. No country, save France, is in a position to exercise the pressure requisite for this operation. Great Britain, whose commercial stake in the Sultanate is sevenfold that of Germany, admitted this feature of the situation by intrusting France with the preservation of order in Morocco. Spain and Italy imitated her example. Germany, after seeming to acquiesce in the new order of things, suddenly arrested the hand of France. By so doing she has unquestionably revenged herself on a statesman whom she considers her deadly enemy, and has secured for herself an ephemeral prestige in the Mohammedan world. But the national passions she has aroused she is incapable of quelling; and, if her former actions supply any criterion of her future line of conduct, she will desert the Moors, as she did the Boers, in the hour of their fate. For the Emperor has no intention of making war on France, or of sacrificing the bones of his Pommeranian Grenadiers on the altar of Moroccan trade. His policy is purely spectacular.

For more than a year the Kaiser has been led, by an exaggerated idea of the dangers besetting him, to suppress his histrionic desire to figure on the stage of World-Politics. But, as soon as his forebodings proved to be groundless, he yielded to the temptation to afford the nations a display of his power. Germany has been but poorly served by his action. She has gained nothing from it that she might not have secured by independent negotiation with France, who was prepared, if asked, to furnish her with the most absolute guarantee to keep open the Moroccan door. But the Emperor chose to quarrel with M. Delcassé on what, after all, is only an obscure point of diplomatic etiquette; and, in endeavoring to teach that statesman a lesson in manners, he has affronted the French nation in a manner which will not readily be forgotten. For France has been quick to note that the Emperor delayed embarrassing her until the Battle of Mukden had completed the paralysis of the Dual Alliance: and from that observation the deduction is irresistible that she must seek another ally against the policy of Germany.

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WASHINGTON, *April, 1905.*

THE topics of general interest most discussed in the Federal capital during the current month have been the position taken by the United States with reference to Morocco; the actual and prospective attitude of the State Department toward the Caracas Government; and the likelihood of the Senate's acceding at the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress to the proposal embodied in the Esch-Townsend bill passed by the House of Representatives, and known to have met with the approval of the President—the proposal, namely, to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to change railway rates under certain circumstances.

There is a widespread impression that Judge Taft, who is not only Secretary of War, but, during the absence of Mr. Roosevelt, is invested with control of the State Department, evinced insight, foresight and tact in dealing with the plausible suggestion made by Emperor William II that the United States should join with Germany in insisting upon the permanent maintenance of the "Open Door" in Morocco, and to that end should guarantee the permanent independence and territorial integrity of the Shereefian monarchy, without regard to any agreement, possibly inconsistent with such independence, that may have been concluded between France, Great Britain, Spain and Italy. The specious argument is believed to have been put forward on behalf of the proposal that the Washington Government could not, with any show of logic and consistency, decline to pursue in Northwest Africa the policy to which it has repeatedly committed itself in China. The text of the agreement entered into between the British and French Foreign Offices with reference to Morocco has not been published; but it is alleged that the signatories only bind themselves to maintain an open door in that country for thirty years; and that, irrespectively of such avowed limitation, the nature of the tutelary functions delegated to France is irreconcilable with the permanent retention of any genuine independence by His Shereefian Majesty, but must inevitably tend to reduce him to a position analogous to that which is at present occupied by the Khedive of Egypt. That is probably true: at all events, it is universally believed. If, however,—so Emperor William's representative might conclude his argument—four Powers are at liberty to form a compact which, by implication or by practical results, would tend eventually to deprive other na-

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tions of equal commercial privileges in Morocco, why should not the same or other four Powers pursue a similar course in the Far East, to the ultimate detriment of the United States? Would it not be consistent, therefore, for our State Department to object to the establishment of a possibly mischievous precedent in Morocco, and concur with Germany in requesting that the agreement concluded between Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain should be submitted for approval, modification or rejection to a Conference or Congress of all the Powers commercially interested in Northwest Africa?

To this ingenious but sophistical presentation of the German Emperor's plan, Secretary Taft is understood to have virtually replied that it is not a statesman's business to be logical and consistent where his country's interests happen to conflict with logic and consistency. He is believed to have pointed out that we have not now, and have not reason to expect, much commercial intercourse with Morocco; and that, consequently, we have no motive for renouncing our traditional avoidance of European entanglements; and that, therefore, while we should continue to favor the "Open Door" in China, with which Empire our actual and prospective commerce is large, we must decline to take part in any move with reference to Morocco which would be likely to antagonize our friends in the London and Paris Foreign Offices. The effect of the judicious and cautious position taken by Secretary Taft is already obvious. We hear no more of Germany's suggestion that a Conference should be called for the purpose of reviewing the English-French agreement to which Spain and Italy acceded; and there is no longer any doubt that France will proceed to exercise the delegated function of maintaining order and assuring administrative reform in the Shereefian dominions.

By well-informed persons it is now taken for granted that, for the present, at all events, our State Department has no intention of resorting to force to compel the Caracas Government to withdraw the case against the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company from the Venezuelan court before which it is pending, and to refer it to arbitration. Whether the demand made by Minister Bowen for such a reference was really of a threatening tenor is not definitely known; neither has the text of President Castro's reply been published. It is reported, however, that the Caracas Executive expressed respectfully a desire to learn whether

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our Government could seriously mean to impugn the integrity of Venezuelan tribunals. It is alleged that President Castro went on to argue that, if no such intention existed, our Government could hardly expect him to withdraw a case from the jurisdiction of his country's courts, and thus by implication impeach their trustworthiness. It is tolerably certain that, for the moment, at all events, we are not ready to express officially the conviction—shared, though it is said to be, by most of the foreign merchants residing in Venezuela—that the courts of that country cannot be trusted to dispense justice. Such a declaration on our part would, no doubt, be echoed promptly by European Powers; and the deduction would be drawn that Venezuela must be forthwith relegated to the semi-independent position of those countries—Egypt is an example—where disputes to which a foreigner is a party must be settled, not by the native tribunals, but by consular courts. It is plain enough that not without a desperate fight would Venezuela submit to the imposition of that régime of exterritoriality against which Japan so long and earnestly protested and from which she has recently emerged. It is equally clear that in her resistance she would have the hearty sympathy, if not also the active assistance, of all the Latin-American commonwealths, who, in the fate with which she was menaced, would foresee their own. We should, in a word, have to undertake a war of conquest in Venezuela, and at the same time incur the lasting suspicion and hatred of all Latin-America. For what? In order to safeguard the property of the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company from possible confiscation at the hands of the Caracas Government, under a judicial decree of the highest Venezuelan court.

Before we embark on such an undertaking, it might be at least prudent to inquire whether the Asphalt Company, bearing in mind the legal axiom, *caveat emptor,* did not enter with eyes wide open into its contract with the Caracas Government; whether it did not covenant, when it obtained a concession, not to appeal from the judgment of the highest Venezuelan tribunal; and whether it be not very doubtful if it could come with clean hands before a court of arbitrators. Touching the last-named inquiry, we may, without presuming to prejudge any particular case as to which the high court at Caracas has not yet rendered a final decision, point out the grounds on which the property of the Asphalt Com-

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pany has been placed temporarily in the hands of a sequestrator, together with the answer made by the defendant corporation. It appears that the Bermudez Asphalt Company is accused by the Castro Administration of having abetted the recent revolution, of which General M. A. Matos was the recognized leader, by paying to the revolutionary leaders, who for a time held sway in the State of Bermudez, all the dues which it had contracted to pay to the Caracas Government. It is also alleged to have forfeited its franchise by its failure to canalize certain rivers, a work which it is said to have been bound to perform by the terms of its concessions. To the first charge the company demurred, on the ground that, under the Venezuelan Constitution, no financial claim for damages incurred during a revolution can be made after a restoration of peace. By the court of first instance this demurrer was overruled, on the ground that a state of war still exists in Venezuela, President Castro's proclamation of martial law not having been revoked when the present action was begun. As to the alleged forfeiture of its franchise by breach of contract, the company maintains that it was not bound to canalize the rivers named in the concession, because such canalization had not been expressly confirmed by the Venezuelan Congress. This claim was also set aside by the court of first instance, for the reason that, as the concession had been confirmed under a general act of Congress authorizing similar grants, no specific confirmation of any stipulation was required.

As regards another American case which has been the subject of negotiation between our State Department and the Caracas Government—the so-called "Olcott claim"—it is undisputed that this, by agreement of the respective countries, has already been submitted to arbitration, and our only ground for requesting a resubmission of the case is that the American claimant is dissatisfied with the judgment rendered by the arbitrator. It is not likely that the Roosevelt Administration would use the military and naval forces of the United States for the purpose of compelling President Castro to rearbitrate a case which has been already arbitrated. On the whole, we opine that Venezuela is in no immediate danger of coercion at the hands of the United States.

It is even less probable that France will interpose to protect from confiscation by the Venezuelan courts the property of the French Cable Company. The French Company is alleged to

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have violated the terms of the concession by which it received from Venezuela a monopoly, because, instead of laying a continuous ocean cable to New York, it covered part of the distance by a land line across Santo Domingo, where the wires have repeatedly been cut by revolutionists. It is also asserted that, during the late rebellion against the Castro Administration, officials of the Cable Company assisted Matos and his friends in two ways: first, by handling their business secretly, and, secondly, by giving them copies of all the Government cables, so that the plans of their opponents were made known to them. It is said that documentary evidence in support of these charges was found on the persons of captured rebel officers. The French Company, on its part, denies the charges, and goes on to contend that, even if they could be sustained, no arbitrator would give judgment for such heavy damages as would amount practically to a confiscation of the property, whereas just such a judgment is expected from the Venezuela tribunal. It is generally believed that the monopoly given to the French Cable Company was secured by bribery, for which reason the corporation would, doubtless, very much prefer to see its case settled by diplomacy rather than by subjection to judicial investigation. Nobody believes that the French Government would intervene to protect by force the interests of the Cable Company, so long as the United States shall refrain from a similar proceeding on behalf of the Bermudez Asphalt Corporation.

It will be remembered that the Senate adjourned without acting upon the Esch-Townsend bill, although the House of Representatives had approved the measure by a majority closely approaching to unanimity. The coterie which is popularly known as the "steering committee" of the Republican majority of the Upper Chamber of the Federal Legislature were of the opinion, we were told, that careful investigation and mature deliberation should precede the bestowal upon the Interstate Commerce Commission of the power to change railway rates even provisionally. To the end that such inquiry should be made, a committee was empowered to sit during the summer, and acquire adequate information on which to base a report to the Senate on the convening of the Fifty-ninth Congress, an event which, it is expected, will take place early in October, the President being credited with the intention of convoking the Federal Legislature in a

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special session. The composition of the committee would not augur well for a report favorable to the Esch-Townsend bill, if the Republican leaders in the Senate had any hope of arraying the majority of their party's spokesmen in the House of Representatives against Mr. Roosevelt. That, however, they know to be impossible. The members of the next House, having been returned at the same time when the voters recorded their confidence in the President, are keenly alive to the fact that their election was due in a large measure to the Roosevelt tidal wave, and are even more likely to cooperate with the Chief Magistrate than were the members of the last House, who were chosen in 1902, when it was doubtful whether the accidental occupant of the White House would receive the next Republican nomination for the Presidency. The truth, of course, is that every wide-awake member of the Senatorial Committee must be conscious that he is—to use the slang of the day—"up against it." Especially is it true of Mr. Elkins, whose influence in the committee will be second to none, that he was never known voluntarily to butt his head against a stone wall, but, on the contrary, has been wont, with instinctive astuteness, to follow the line of least resistance. That line does not point to overt conflict with the White House. The prevailing opinion, therefore, is that the kind of enlightenment which the Senatorial Committee will receive during the summer should be described as egoistic rather than altruistic, and that its clients, the railways, will be discreetly informed by its report that, while it would gladly further their interests if it could, it has arrived at the conclusion that self-preservation is the first law of nature. We shall not, therefore, be surprised if, shortly after the assembling of the Fifty-ninth Congress, the Senate should approve a measure substantially identical in its vital provisions with the Esch-Townsend bill.

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